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ABSTRACT

This conference proceedings contains the texts of eighteen papers which were presented at the Fourth Annual Conference on Empirical Research in Black Psychology. A small group of young black psychologists came together to critique and present research papers, to generate intellectual support for research projects that have not caught the fancy of mainstream psychology, and to promote a research orientation in the field of black psychology. Topics addressed include health, behavior, cognition, family life, community life, education, and child rearing. (Author/RLV)

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FOURTH CONFERENCE ON EMPIRICAL RESEARCH IN BLACK PSYCHOLOGY

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AUGUST, 1979

THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE
ON EMPIRICAL RESEARCH
IN BLACK PSYCHOLOGY

January 7-9, 1979

The Third College
University of California - San Diego
La Jolla, California

ABSTRACT

Within the last seven to ten years, an increasingly significant number of Black Americans have completed doctoral programs at academic-research oriented psychology departments. Due to the tremendous need for minority input at all levels of higher education, frequently these talented researchers feel compelled to become involved in numerous university committees on "minority affairs" which inevitably affects their research output. In other instances, the researchers end up as the only Black person in their respective psychology programs, and should their research focus on the Black experience, they may not receive the support and constructive criticism needed to sustain and refine such research ventures. For these and a variety of related reasons, recently a small group of Black psychologists, dedicated to the research process, came to the conclusion that there was a need to have a series of conferences that would emphasize the value of research in the analysis of issues related to Black Psychology. A plan evolved which called for a setting wherein a small group of young Black psychologists would come together to critique and present research papers, generate intellectual support for research projects that have not caught the fancy of mainstream psychology, and to, in general, promote a research orientation in the field of Black Psychology. The first such conference was held in June of 1974 at the University of Michigan, the second a year later at Columbia University, while Conference III was held at Cornell University in 1976. The following volume contains the papers presented at the Fourth Conference which was held in La Jolla, California at the University of California-San Diego from the 7th to the 9th of January, 1979. Conference IV was made possible by a grant from NIMH (DHEW).

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Psychology and The Black Experience[1]

Charles W. Thomas
University of California

A life long impression was made through my experience of working at the Watts Health Center in the 1960's using psychology in the Black community. At other moments, it seems as if it were only yesterday that I was busy assisting in the development of the California Black Behavioral Scientists, an organization concerned with the absence of theory and practices relevant to the needs of Blacks. It is also significant to note that that organization had a multidisciplinary membership including an economist, a political scientist, an anthropologist as well as psychiatrists, social workers, psychologists, and a health educator. From this involvement in these activities, I was able to get Samuel Tucker, David Terrell, Leon Hicks and Shirley W. Thomas to join me as the Task group that conducted the drive that resulted in the Association of Black Psychologists. Since that time, I have had a number of occasions in which to seek value clarification through the wisdom of W.E.B. DuBois who observed:

> It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness--an American; a Negro--two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.
>
> The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife . . . this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self.

This perspective was a major part of the motive for obtaining group commitment to conduct a scientific resolution so that the Black community might be protected from further exploitation and oppression. These ideals were validated through the formation of both the Association of Black Psychologists and the Black Student Psychological Association. The promise, however, of technical and methodological innovation remains wanting. I believe that as a group, we have not been adequately challenged to examine our lives in terms of ethnic content. Until we submit to such scrutiny,our work, by definition, will not have an ethnocentric frame of reference.

Self-examination encourages sensitivity to nuances in perception. Reforms of any kind require a change in awareness so that the actions taken are not due to chance but can be repeated at will. No expansion in our consciousness nor will a resolution of the ambivalence in our identity take place until Black scholars have had active, continuous experiential contact with the masses in the Black community. As long as the gap remains, the purpose and conception of our work will be held in doubt. Using scientific activities and professional practices to fight racial oppression demand an advocacy effort where popular images are congruent with the human element.

To have an impact on society means to make and maintain a change in that society. Therefore, Black scholars must continue the quest for a social reality where cultural and psychological bonds are expressed through the majesty of nationalism. Among the many reasons this direction has not been sustained is due to the void of a cultural movement which provides consistency in mind sets. In this reality attempts at identity conflict resolution have not been clearly assertive in terms of nationalism or assimilation. Thus, as DuBois once wrote,

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[1] Keynote address, Southern Regional Education Board Conference, October 29, 1978, Atlanta, Georgia. A review of several previous major papers presented by the author.

> The Negro group has long been internally divided by dilemmas as to whether its striving upwards should be aimed at strengthening inner cultural and group bonds, both for intrinsic progress and for offensive power against caste; or whether it should seek escape wherever and however possible into the surrounding American culture.

These dilemmas in times of social flux tend to see opinion makers vacillating between the two approaches described by DuBois. For Black psychologists the matter is especially critical since we have assumed a major responsibility for improving the quality of life for Afro-Americans.

A psychology of the Black experience will have an accelerated development when there is a fuller knowledge of the nature of science. Consequently, our sense of this responsibility will emerge from a comparative view of Western Civilization and that of Africa. As this focus becomes clearer through distinctions made in social, personal and historical accounts of moral behavior, it will also become plain that our philosophy of science is derived through capitalism and its pre-occupation with exploitable commodities. With a little probing modern science emerges as an expression of culture, created, renewed and maintained by people who sustain certain interests. Science has a social context. It does not occur in isolation, nor is it beyond the human motives of the scientist. Because of these characteristics, we must consider the social relations of science relative to the accumulation of knowledge.

A number of issues need to be examined in terms of understanding the politicality of psychology and the Black experience. The press for liberation cannot succeed without sufficient knowledge and political understanding of the fact that since cultural imperialism was the means used to enslave us, cultural nationalism must be used to halt exploitation by degrading or deliberate victimization; and, thus free us. There are too many of us, and the pace is too slow by which racial integration can be used to eliminate racism. As long as the social contradictions remain extensive, peaceful, racial coexistence is at best doubtful. Yet, the press for liberation in the sense of restored humanity for Afro-Americans cannot succeed us long as our reality continues to be constructed by what we have allowed ourselves to believe to be true. We have not critically questioned the discrepancies that exist between us as oppressed people and those who are our oppressors or adversaries.

Our task is to ask and answer a series of questions concerning every description and analysis of the Black experience. Every theory, research design, social policy and human services programsneed to be scrutinized according to the:

(1) value orientation that is used;
(2) cultural elements used for networking;
(3) validity of the assumptions made, and
(4) potential for a more significant change.

Chances for the future to be transformed into a reality rather than a nightmare depend upon making the assumptions explicit through confrontation, evaluation and modification. Adequate social opportunities will develop when we understand that any change in our world begins with a change in ourselves. This shift in consciousness to support functioning in a better, more fully, creative, humanely manner requires a multidisciplinary foundation.

Through multidisciplinary studies it becomes possible to develop an awareness of those barriers to our self-realization. History will give the frame of reference from which contemporary issues can be analyzed. Art provides a visual expression of the social patterns of a culture. Music gives the aural social commentary of a culture. Literature describes the social reality of a culture. Any one of these areas gives only a partial fragmented view of the human condition. When they are articulated in a multidisciplinary or comprehensive fashion it becomes possible to penetrate those psycho-social defenses that separate people from one another and the person from him or herself. The marvel of these discoveries cannot be achieved until the group concerned develops or controls the information system that regulates its life and, in so doing eliminatesthe treatment as inferior dependent persons or as people compelled to obey orders from anyone else.

For me the psychology of the Black experience begins with a grounding in African civilization so that the human element of our existence is established. It is also important in this context to understand how our place in the cataloging of humanity was denied, distorted, and extinguished through our trust placed in social arrangements that relieve us of initiative, cultural knowledge and personal responsibility. In order to reverse this status, there needs to be a blending of civic responsibility with technical competence as expressed by the philosophies of Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. DuBois and Marcus Garvey. The Washingtonian contribution would support an identification and clarification of scientific activities and professional services useful to the under served constituencies of both urban and rural Afro-Americans, particularly in the matter of constructing a firm economic foundation. From the DuBoisan philosophy reserach would be used to obtain several direct benefits. First, since we are knowledge dependent upon others, there would be a turn around of this condition with a different research agenda. Second, the research would promote scientific advances and technological know-how which could be used to develop, sustain and control employment, education, resource allocation, health care, housing, land use, and quality of life generally. Third, research would be used to provide us with a meaningful psycho-social view of ourselves. Research in this connection, is more than acquiring new knowledge. The real social importance of research is to be seen in its political implications where the findings impact on public policy and social power. Research is essential for promoting social change, planning and human development generally.

The Garveyite tradition of esteem building has much to offer self-determination models through a supportive use of ethnocentricism or racial awareness, identity and pride. In this regard, information from my clinical studies and work in comparative ethnocentrism reveals the influence of mass mediated culture on human behavior. For example, culturally approved child rearing practices produce corresponding changes in personality formation. Thus, during periods of increased ethnic pride, there is also a dynamic personality connection of being in charge as seen through the expression of individual ideas, beliefs, values and symbols. For example, in the 1920's, when the creative genius of Blacks flourished, this era produced people characterized by self-reliance, self-directedness, achievement, industry, group centeredness, creativity and autonomy. These traits emerged from a social circumstance mediated by Blacks knowing the pleasure and satisfaction of them doing a number of jobs well. A comparable set of personality traits did not show up again until the 1940's where there was extensive evidence of nationalism, adventuresome, risk-taking, competitiveness and a sense of style. This illustration of comparative ethnocentrism demonstrates the need for studies of greater depth and scope. The results would be useful in putting a stop to the sense of futility encouraged by the development of self-concepts that promtoe behavior congruent with the expectations of oppression.

It is useless to talk about constructive control, however, if the perceptions used to direct such efforts are compromising in philosophy. By that I mean, for example, if there is no distinction between Black psychologists and other psychologists in theory, concepts, research designs, or data analysis can we expect effective action. On this point it is interesting to note that in one review of studies (Caplan and Nelson, 1973) conducted about Afro-Americans, 82% of the psychological research reflected personal shortcomings of Afro-Americans as the cause of our "social problems" status. In another study (Raphael, 1977) it was found that there was a statistically significant tendency on the part of Black psychologists to use concepts that denoted personal-blame or something wrong with Afro-Americans.

The particular significance of these studies is to be seen in what happens when concepts of deficit modeling or victimization become the primary measure of competence. These conceptual tools change the process of development while fostering racist oppression as a pleasant experience without social stigma. For example, minority as a concept, when applied to people of color in general and to Afro-Americans specifically, it does not generate a change in the traditional normative value of inferiority. Furthermore, minority in its denotation sustains the systematic denial of social equality. For these reasons its current widespread usage is very dangerous because it leads to massive acceptance without forethought by the victims. Therefore, as one begins to unravel the interaction of theoretical models and experience for Afro-Americans it would be responsible scientifically and humanely sensitive to label us Negro or colored than to call us minority. In the former we are seen as useful for exploitation purposes. With the latter, there is not only intimated interethnic hostility but the threat of psycho-social destruction as as well. The victims of this minority labeling take the blame for their feelings of helplessness, powerlessness and nothingness and act accordingly. Once more we should see that nothing in this world is value free or valueless. Madhubuti (1978) elaborates on this point by saying,

> Every action that transpires between peoples and cultures carries with it its own values. And if Black people do not have and practice their own values, customs and traditions, other people out of their own survival-necessity will impose their values on us, i.e., that's what we speak, dress, think and act like Euro-Americans (white people) rather than like Afrikans (Black people). Therefore, we believe that our collective movement must address itself to life-giving and life-saving values, actions and institutions that stimulate and motivate Black people toward the liberation and re-development of Black people (p. 118).

People with power do not look elsewhere for permission or approval nor do they make alliances that are outside of their self-interests.

Significant confusion follows the lack of clarification and precision in concepts; Afro-American, for example, is the concept which establishes the anthropological context of those people who share a common social, cultural and biological heritage. From this perspective, it is efficient to conduct a psycho-cultural analysis on the effects of enforced discrepant behavior and self-defeating activities or to develop social support systems that would be supportive of institutional reform. Accordingly, the important aspects of this approach to our emotional health take into account both manifestations of behavior and feelings. It also gives a theoretical framework in which to place facts. Hence, we must be mindful of the role choices for Afro-Americans: 1) an acceptance of defeat by withdrawing; 2) an escape from the horrors of life through the use of alcohol, drugs or by suicide; 3) a refusal to recognize defeat by adopting the values of the power elite; or 4) a refusal to retreat from bio-social realities by searching for new meanings as expressed through Blackness. These choices are somewhat easier to recognize through behaviors labelled as Nigger, Negro, White Middle-Class Negro, Colored or Black.

The importance of this conceptual distinction has to be seen in the fact that a concept is a generalized term which describes referent or common creatures. Yet a concept must be broad enough to include a number and variety of different relationships as well as to acknowledge the difficulties in communication. Constructs, on the other hand, are descriptive of both a tool function and a goal function. Both of these considerations can be characterized by operational specificity. These aspects of theory building have been neglected in the research conducted and services provided with respect to us. Consequently, there has been so little social science of value to us. Furthermore, much of the confusion concerning what we are, where we should be moving can be traced to the void in correct descriptions of our referent behaviors. It is for this reason we are either discovered or confirmed as something other than what we are when defined by others. In this connection, mass media today use Black in a negative sense at best or will describe one as Negro and Black in a manner to mean the same thing. Yet, there is more than ample evidence that the Negro is vastly different from the Black. Clearly the challenge is to control both discovery and confirmation of processes springing from the Black movement through scientific models.

It follows that there must be constructs or roots to cover a working model of what we are, what we think of ourselves and what we can become. Although unintended by the mental health movement, there are several striking similarities between it and the Black movement. Nevertheless, successful promotion of both can be seen. These criteria are important guidelines for determining the extent to which socially relevant behavior is engendered. The onus rests upon those who know much but have not acted. Conversely, there are the equally difficult problems for the masses to appreciate the Black movement as an illustration in the tradition of man's timeless reach for self-mastery and environmental control, and the breaking of social chains forged by concepts of chance and mythology.

The American society has been organized around a variety of schemes to make Afro-Americans fearful of Anglos, critical of each other, and inconsistent in behavior. The authoritarian nature of the social order on the one hand, and its cultural paternalism on the other, serve to stifle risk-taking behavior which is essential for personal-social well being. As the social relationships between Anglos and Afro-Americans were developed, reinforced, and refined, pathological patterns of behavior emerged for Afro-Americans.

Conversely, Blackness does not merely denote a positive feeling about self around physical characteristics, but includes assertive behavior occurring within a cultural context. Consequently, the basic structure of the existing social system that produces problems of identity confusion requires drastic modification along with relevant behaviors stemming from the current Black experience. These changes, which many see as a kind of deviance, are not isolated symptoms, but behaviors promoted by a society that has used race as an economic sanction in behavior modification.

All Afro-Americans must find or discover some point in our existence where we can commit ourselves to the movement before we can permit ourselves to see the truth of what is necessary, to say nothing about acting as we should. Blackness must become a first step, since one cannot say I was born Black and let it go at that. I am now referring to that whole feeling that goes with being Black where one has been born again, but is alive for the first time. It is a whole creative experience because one can be what one is. Thus, Blackness is a constantly evolving, ever becoming process, dependent upon the incorporation of psycho-social-biological factors that 1)facilitate a mastery of self, 2) promote self-esteem, 3) allow for need reduction, 4) combat apathy and 5) incorporate narcissism and ethnocentrism as positive motivating influences. Although Blackness is a personality construct which becomes manifested through behavior that changes racial factors from constraining forces to agents of social facilitation, it requires an understanding of arrested personal-social actions stemming from dehumanized treatment. In view of this thesis, Afro-Americans, Negro, Black or Colored should not be used interchangeably, since each designation reflects different attitudes.

Blackness is a manifestation of a specific form of behavior which enables Afro-Americans to enhance our self-determined mastery over those political and social economic institutions that would grossly impair our socially relevant behavior. For this reason, Afro-Americans who have internalized their Blackness tend to be seen, not only as persons of high self-esteem, but also as persons who are less susceptible to the pernicious influence of out group directedness. The internalization of ethnicity may also be viewed as a type of creative experience coming from what outsiders might call adaptable deviances.

Blackness is both a tool or means and a goal or end which facilitates bio-social acceptance in our racial group by Afro-Americans. The acceptance of this membership becomes manifested through more assertive behavior which enables Afro-Americans who have become Black, to enhance self-determined mastery over political and socio-economic conditions that would otherwise impair socially relevant behavior. With this definition of Blackness, it is possible to move on to accountability of ourselves, external control of others and reconstruction of our life styles.

Our survival has always been precarious. These times are no exception as we witness the conversion of social Darwinism thought into sociobiology where the aim is to locate and characterize specific genes that can alter various forms of social behavior. There is no end to the use of science in achieving sanctions for evil. At the same time a change in ethical imperatives cannot be accomplished without a radical shift in value orientation. But, given the super-power status of science, the words of Frederick Douglass ring true,

> Power concedes nothing without demand.
> It never did and never will . . . Men may
> not get what they pay for but they must
> certainly pay for all they get.

Social change confronts the reassurance that one's original values are respected and at the core of one's esteem. To cope with the unexpected one needs mutual trust and the sharing of those resources which not only allow for creative syntheses, but power as well. In this regard, cultural pluralism is a concept where each ethnic or racial group can be held responsible for actualizing the potential of its own members. In a broader societal context, cultural pluralism can become the process of handling the replication of uniformities that are so important to a sharing of experiences. The organization of diversity, which is at the core of unity, cannot be achieved without using cultural pluralism.

The Social Sciences, as we know them, have a conceptual framework that is outside of cultural pluralism and hence, beyond a respect for the dignity of all individuals. For this reason, there is a continual need to balance the control function of science with its function as a potential agent of social change. However, this is easier said than done since the scientific method is a controlled inquiry based upon a particular value orientation. Therefore, as long as the value system of the social scientist generates concepts and models that abuse, deny or dehumanize, there is little hope for such scientists to voluntarily change the nature of their activities. This condition presents an opportunity for Black psychologists to create the ethnic circumstances under which a range of new and different human care service activities can take place. Our survival and advancement to the good life must be guided by a reality based upon the Smoke King where,

> I am black.
> I am darkening with song,
> I am hearkening to wrong;
> I will be as black as blackness can,
> The blacker the mantle the mightier the man.

And, that expresses my sentiments about psychology, psychologists and the Black experience.

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Life Change Stress, Somatization and Blood Pressure in Blacks: A Pilot Study

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Ralph E. Miles, M.P.H.

Modern America is experiencing a cardiovascular epidemic that seems to be increasing in direct proportion with the increased complexity of our society and life styles. A significant indicator of this health risk is the slow but steady rise in the national basal blood pressure level, and with it the increase in the mortality and morbidity rates for hypertension, coronary heart disease and their sequelae (Advance Data, DHEW Report No. 2, 1976).

Of particular concern to the physicians and medical investigators is the disproportionate race, sex and SES incidence rates of hypertension. The evidence is overwhelming that hypertension, especially essential hypertension (EH) is most prevalent among the poor, blacks, and females (Saunders & Williams, 1975; Johnson *et al.*, 1975; NCHS Report, 1976). Generally, the incidence rates for hypertension are between 30%-50% for blacks ages 45-75 and from 18%-40% for whites in the same age range (National Health Statistics, 1976). Similarly, for population between the ages of 15-29, the incidence rates are reported to be from 12.7% to 19% for whites and 31.6% for blacks (Johnson, *et al.*, 1975).

Efforts to explain these disproportionate rates have drawn attention to the strong contributions that factors such as sex, poverty, ethnicity, geography, degree of urbanization, familial history of hypertension, genetic factors, dietary habits (e.g., the consumption of salt), obesity, and psychosocial stress make in accounting for blood pressure variation (Thomas, *et al.*, 1961; Stamler, *et al.*, 1967; Saunders and Williams, 1975; Harburg, *et al.*, 1970, 1973a,b). While each of these factors has been found to contribute to the development and exacerbation of this disease, none account singularly for enough of the variance in the incidence rates, thus supporting a multiple causation hypothesis for hypertension (Saunders and Williams, 1975). Existing empirical evidence strongly suggests that biogenic factors such as genetic (i.e., family history of disease) predisposition and current health habits are primarily implicated in the pathogenesis of this disorder (Saunders and Williams, 1975). In recent years, however, increasing attention has been placed on the role that psychogenic factors such as personality, psychosocial stress (i.e., stress experienced by the person in interaction with his environment) and sociocultural stress (i.e., stress inherent in the society or culture of membership) might play in increasing the risk of the disease and in accelerating the pattern of development of the disease (Harbrug, *et al.*, 1970; Henry and Cassel, 1969; Moses, *et al.*, 1956; Scotch and Geiger, 1963).

The evidence on the role of psychosocial factors in the etiology of hypertension is inconclusive and at best provocative. However, a number of general models of stress and disease have been proposed that integrate the current evidence into wholistic descriptions of the interplay of biological and psychosocial factors to produce a "disease inducing" process (Myers, 1976). These models suggest that diseases such as hypertension are the clinical end-products of the dynamic interplay of all of the physiological and genetic factors previously mentioned, along with the following four general categories of psychosocial factors: (a) intrapersonal stress response characteristics, (b) inter-personal interaction variables, (c) physical-environmental variables, and (d) larger societal and culture variables (Myers, 1976; Stahl, *et al.*, 1975; Walters and Fried, 1976).

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These models further suggest that the failure of many studies to demonstrate a meaningful relationship between psychosocial factors such as stress, and disease entities such as hypertension is at least in part due to the discrete and unidimensional perspective with which this question is traditionally approached. The significant role of psychosocial factors in disease may be more readily identified and demonstrated empirically if a more multi-dimensional and wholistic perspective is used (Myers, 1976; Lazarus, 1979).

Methodologically, the studies of psychosocial stress and disease have largely focused on the individual with the target disorder (e.g., the diagnosed hypertensive) and have attempted via a variety of scales to retrospectively measure the relative etiological importance of stress factors. In addition, these studies have looked at one or more discrete psychosocial factors and attempted to elucidate a direct, quidpro-quo relationship between the specific factors studied and the clinical disease entity. Failure to identify such a relationship has been usually interpreted as evidence of a substantive failure rather than a methodological one. Cassel (1974) suggests that a more productive formulation is to perceive psychosocial processes (e.g., stress-coping) as conditional variables that increase the organism's susceptibility to disease rather than as causes of specific diseases.

Furthermore, there is increasing evidence that the impact that stressful experiences may have on an individual is mediated by the resources or assets that the individual has at his/her disposal (Nuckolls, et al., 1972; Cassel, 1974). Thus, in assessing the role that psychosocial stress plays in increasing susceptibility to diseases such as hypertension, it is important to also ascertain to what extent the resources available to the individual can serve to ameliorate the negative impact of the stressful experiences. This formulation suggests, therefore, that stress serves as a noxious agent which ultimately leads to malfunction in the organism only if adequate resources are not available to reduce, curtail or divert its noxious effect.

Finally, in the absence of properly controlled, prospective studies, not only have we been unable to clearly demonstrate the role that psychosocial stress factors play in disease but we have also been unable to effectively elucidate the pattern of operation of these variables.

In summary, the stress paradigm essentially postulates a total organismic response mechanism comprised of neurochemical and organ-systems response mechanisms mediated by complex cognitive-psychological processes leading to covert and overt behavioral responses. This entire response mechanism is triggered by extra-personal or contextual stimuli whose impact is mediated by the organism's past history, present response capabilities, perceptions, etc. Disease states are postulated as resulting from the prolonged exposure to a level of stressful stimuli that overwhelmed the organisms' coping and adjustment capabilities. Thus, while a specific disease cannot be realiably predicted from this formulation, the stress-disease paradigm does afford us a working empirically supported model by which to address the question of the contribution that psychosocial factors may play in the etiology of psychomatic disorders such as essential hypertension.

The Role of Stress in Hypertension

Efforts to clarify the question of the role of stress in the development of hypertension must acknowledge the early seminal work of Selye and his General Adaptation Syndrome (Selye, 1950, 1959). With his GAS theory, Selye depicted the impact of stress on living organisms as a sequence of physiological defense processes (i.e., sympathetic nervous system activity) designed to cope with a noxious event. The major contributions of this theory have been to depict stress-coping behavior as a complex, sequential, interactive, defense process over time, and to describe how failure of the organisms's stress adaptation efforts ultimately leads to organismic fatigue and death.

This GAS model described the interpersonal, physiological response mechanism, but ignored the wide range of other interpersonal and extrapersonal factors that interact to produce stress and to trigger efforts to cope with it. Stahl, et al., (1975) contend that for a model of stress to be wholistic it must account for both structural (i.e., measurable characteristics) and the dynamic (i.e., interactive processes) features of man's attempt to cope with stressful phenomena. As a social entity, man is in a constant state of dynamic interaction with his milieu. As such, therefore, research on stress must simultaneously account for intrapersonal processes, extrapersonal phenomena, and the dynamic interplay of both.

The majority of studies on essential hypertension that have addressed the question of stress as a significant variable have been based on a static and bi-directional model. In it, stress is perceived as a precursor or as an external factor triggering a defined entity such as hypertension. Sociological and psychological factors are essentially structural variables viewed as statis elements influencing the degree of susceptibility or the impact of stress on the individual.

Among the major sociological variables that have been found to be significantly related to hypertension are SES, race, age, sex, occupation and social mobility. The significance of these variables as important etiological correlates has been widely demonstrated and accepted. However, their value is exclusively descriptive and not explanatory.

Studies attempting to define the significant psychological variables in the etiology of hypertension have concentrated primarily on defining what distinctive patterns of personality characteristics, intervening psychological variables (e.g., cognition, perception) and intrapsychic conflicts distinguish the hypertensive from the normotensive. The pioneer work in this area must be attributed to Alexander and his efforts to postulate key intrapsychic conflicts underlying each of the major psychosomatic disorders (ie.., Response Specificity Theory). Alexander (1950), identified two general stress-reaction patterns: (1) preparations for fight, or flight, and (3) withdrawal from outwardly-directed activities into a dependent, vegetative existence. These general response styles he suggested, applied to all stressful situations. In addition, he postulated distinct conflicts that were specific to each psychosomatic disorder. In hypertension, he theorized that it was a growing reservoir of anger and rage and conflicts over its expression that were central to its etiology. Unlike the normotensive, the hypertensive responds to noxious events by working himself up to the final stages of physiological preparation for attack. However, because of conflicts over the expression of the attack impulse, the tension-reducing attack response fails to occur. Thus, the individual remains in a hyper-vigilant, chronic state of activation and tension. It is this anger-suppression style that Alexander postulates ultimately results in the chronic vasoconstriction and cardiovascular and renal deterioration that is characteristic of hypertension. Subsequent psychological research provided partial validation for the Alexander theory and identified some additional personality characteristics. For example, hypertensives have been found to have a labile and hyper-responsive blood pressure (Harris, et al., 1953), to be hypersensitive to anger and to anger-provoking stimuli (Neiberg, 1957) and to have difficulty expressing anger directly and without guilt (Wolf and Wolf, 1951; Moses, et al., 1956; Gentry, et al., 1973). Hypertensives have also been found to show cardiovascular stress-response stereotype, and to be low in dominance and assertiveness and high in susceptibility to anger (Leary, 1975; Thaler, et al., 1957).

Recently, Naditch (1973) also noted that individuals who were externally oriented and highly discontented (i.e., discontent=aspirations=achievement) were more likely to also be hypertensive. Similarly, the literature on relative anxiety-proneness (i.e., trait vs. state anxiety) strongly suggests that hypertensives are more likely to be highly trait-anxious (Smith, 1972).

In addition to the personality trait formulation, there is a growing body of research that conceptualizes stress-coping behavior as a dynamic process mediated by cognitive appraisal and adaptation. Recent theorizing by Lazarus (1979) offer some rather compelling hypotheses about the role that cognitive appraisal and response styles to stressful events may play in the etiology of hypertension.

Briefly, two schools of thought exist regarding the question of how stressful stimuli are appraised and what psychological factors mediate successful stress-reducing behavior. The Cognitivists (i.e., Lazarus, 1966, 1967; Janis, 1958, 1962) emphasize the importance of cognitive appraisal and response styles as intervening variables in the stress-response process. They identify three major cognitive appraisal styles, the Copers or "Direct Actors," the Avoiders or "evadees," and the Non-specific Defenders or "Flexible Responders." These appraisal styles are viewed as differentially successful at managing stress (Lazarus, 1967; Janis, 1962; Goldstein 1973; Myers, 1974).

The Instrumentalist and Transactionalist (Sells, 1970; Pepitone, 1967; Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend, 1970; Lehman, 1972), on the other hand, view stress as the product of an imbalance in the personal skills vs. social demand equation. They include in their theoretical formulation the influence of larger socio-political variables (e.g., race and social status) as significant sources of stress and view successful stress-coping largely as a function of the ability of the individual to meet and successfully cope with the objective sources of stress (Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend, 1970; House, 1974; Myers, 1975).

Despite the basic differences in their conceptualization of stress and of the stress-coping process, these two schools of thought concur on the following; (1) That cognitive appraisal of the stimulus as threatening predates the organism's response to it as a stressor. Thus, the meaning of the stressor to the individual is an important mediator between the objective stressor itself and the organisms's response to it (Lazarus, 1966; House, 1974; Waters and Fried, 1976); (2) that once the appraisal of a stimulus as a threatening agent has been made then a complex psychological process of identifying and evaluating alternative responses is triggered (i.e., vigilance and cognitive rehearsal vs. denial and avoidance); (3) that this evaluation is followed by a decision point at which time one alternative response choice is made, and finally (4) that there is a re-evaluation of the relating success of the coping effort which results either in the achievement of a resting, no-stress state or the organism enters a state of heightened vigilance. The latter involves the continued processing of alternatives until the desired one is selected.

Summarizing the literature reviewed thus far we can tentatively postulate the following relationship between psychosocial life stress and essential hypertension. We can suggest that a hypertensive probably (1) experiences many life situations that can be objectively described as stress inducing, (2) that he/she subjectively perceives these events as stressful, and (3) perceives himself/herself as under more than the usual amount of pressure and demand, (4) that he/she acknowledges that when stressed, their predominant somatic response pattern reflects the disproportionate involvement of the cardiovascular and renal systems, (5) a characteristic elevation and lability in their blood pressure.

In addition to these major features, the hypertensive's life style and history probably include such secondary but important intervening variables as smoking, excess weight, heavy salt intake in their diet, limited exercise, and a personal and/or family history of hypertension or other cardiovascular or renal disorder.

The present pilot study explored in more detail the role that psychosocial stress plays as a mediator between the neuro-chemical and cardiovascular response systems and essential hypertension in a low income black sample. More specitically, the study explored, consistent with the theoretical formulation of stress as a complex organismic process with physiological, psychological and behavioral components, the role that (1) life change events (i.e., stress source (2) subjective appraisal styles (i.e., cognitive mediator and (3) pattern of somatic response to stress (i.e., physiological response tendency) play in the etiology of essential hypertension (i.e., disease outcome). Other factors known to be associated with the disease such as smoking, obesity, salt intake, past familial history of hypertension and other cardiovascular diseases, age, sex, and ethnic background are used as control variables.

In the present report, only the results specifically related to the role of subjective appraisal of stress (2) and somatic responses, (3) in hypertension will be reported.

Subjective Appraisal of Stress and Hypertension

There is ample theoretical and empirical support for the assertion that subjective appraisal plays a critical intervening role between the stress stimulus and the impact of that stimulus on the organism as reflected in the stress response be the latter physiological, psychological, and/or behavioral (Lazarus, 1974; Chapman and Reeder, 1966; Waters and Fried, 1976).

However, despite the evidence in support of this construct, studies looking at psychosocial factors in hypertension have consistently ignored it as a meaningful intervening variable in the genesis of hypertension. Using a four item Subjective Stress Scale (SSS) developed for the L.A. Heart Study, Chapman and Reeder (1966) reported very significant correlations (i.e., personnel between .4 and .7) between high scores on this variable and personal and familial history of cardiovascular disease. Subsequently, Schar, et al., (1973) replicated these findings with a cross-cultural sample.

The present study investigated directly the relationship between the subjective feelings of being under stress and elevated blood pressure in a black sample. We hypothesized consistent with the evidence in the cardiovascular disease literature that black hypertensives should appraise themselves generally as under greater stress than normotensives.

Pattern of Somatization and Hypertension

Two distinct theoretical perspectives contribute to our conceptualization of the role that patterns of somatization might play in the etiology of essential hypertension in blacks. Psychodynamic theory with its clinical paradigm postulates that disease such as hypertension, ulcers, asthma are the physiological end products of psychological conflicts. Psychodynamics further postulate a symptom specificity hypothesis, suggesting that specific diseases result from a specific conflict-specific organ system outcome relationship (Alexander, 1950). Hyperthesives from this perspective are viewed as conflicted around the expression of anger, the suppression of which is translated neurochemically and cardiovascularly into a progressive pattern of chronic elevated blood pressure. As stated previously, efforts to empirically validate these formulations by the measurement and personality theorists have failed to identify a specific "hypertensive personality" (Gutmann and Benson, 1971; Goldstein and Shapiro, In press).

The second theoretical perspective is learning theory and the experimental induction of elevated blood pressure. This theoretical perspective consists of two distinct but related models, one the classical conditioning formulation, and the second the experimental manipulation of the environment. The classical conditioning model essentially suggests that chronic elevated blood pressure results from the continuous association of this response with both a natural triggering stimulus (USC) and a class of related, conditioned stimuli (CS). The BP elevation response becomes associated with an increasingly wide range of stimuli and is, thus, continually triggered and maintained. Empirical support for this formulation has been consistently demonstrated (Simonson and Brozek, 1959; Dykman and Gant, 1960).

The theoretical and empirical support that these studies provide for the relationship between somatization and hypertension is suggestive at best. This investigator after a very exhaustive review of the literature was unable to find any published studies directly addressing this association. However, several recent studies looking specifically at the question of individual patterns of somatic response to stress provide some insight into this hypothesized relationship. These studies were based on the fact that individuals differed in their idiosynchratic patterns of responses to stress (Lacey and Lacey, 1953). Subsequent studies also showed that patterns of somatic responses to stress tend to cluster in families (Stern and Higgins, 1969), but to vary across societies (Leighton, et al., 1963; Wittkower and Lipowski, 1966).

In an effort to determine somatic response patterns within cultural/ethnic groups that may account for differences in the incidence of somatic disorders between ethnic groups and across different socieites, Guthrie, et al., (1975) administered the 6-factor Somatic Perception Questionnaire (SPQ) to college males and females in the U.S., France, the Phillipines and Haiti. Their results identified differences of industrialization, and ethnic/cultural group. Caucasian females reported greater "cognitive disorganization" under stress, while non-caucasian females reported more "loss of control" of bodily processes and "cardio-respiratory"symptoms. Caucasian males, on the other hand, report greater "gastro-intestional" symptoms when stressed while non-caucasian males reported greater "loss of control" and "cardio-respiratory" symptoms. Of particular relevance to the present investigation is the tendency for the Haitian sample (i.e., the only blacks in the study) to show a predominantly cardio-respiratory somatic response to stress. What relationship, if any, exists between this tendency and the rate of hypertension is that society was, unfortunately, not addressed in that study.

In the present study, a direct empirical test of the relationship between pattern of somatization under stress and hypertension in a sample of U.S. Blacks was conducted. This variable was measured using the 33-item Somatic Perception Questionnaire (SPQ) as used by Guthrie, et al., (1975). The items cluster into six somatic factors:

1. Sympathetic responses (e.g., sweaty palms, cold hands).
2. Loss of control (e.g., dizziness, headaches, nightmares, muscle twitices)
3. Cognitive disorganization (e.g., poor memory, confused thoughts, poor concentration).
4. Affective disturbances (e.g., worry, restlessness, knots in stomach).
5. Gastro-intestinal disorders (e.g., acid stomach, excess acid).
6. Cardio-respiratory disorders (e.g., rapid heartbeat, shortness of breath).

For the purpose of this investigation, special attention was paid to the extraction of a cardio-respiratory factor and to test its relationship to variations in blood pressure. The pattern of loadings on all other factors extracted was also assessed.

Essential Hypertension

Essential hypertension (i.e., high blood pressure) is a disease frought with disagreements about definition and criterion level of blood pressure (Saunders and Williams, 1975). For the purpose of this study, essential hypertension is defined as blood pressures equal to or greater than 140/90 mm Hg for which there is no definable medical cause. This variable served as the primary dependent variable and was used in the analysis as a discrete categorical variable (i.e., number of hypertensives vs. normotensives).

This variable was measured using a standard mercury sphygmomanometer. The systolic (1st Korotkoff sound) and the dyastolic (5th Korotkoff sound) blood pressures were recorded four separate times during a single one hour interview (see Method). These multiple readings were made to account for individual blood presure variation and to insure a more accurate measure of the usual systemic level of BP.

Primary Hypotheses

In the present investigation, the following hypotheses were tested:

1. that subjective appraisal of life change events is positively related to level of blood pressure, such that high perceived stressfulness is positively correlated with high blood pressure, and,
2. that somatic response patterns, especially cardio-respiratory response predisposition will be positively related to level of blood pressure, such that high levels of blood pressure should be associated with a different somatic response factor loadings than normal blood pressure.

Method

Subjects

Seventy-seven (77) black, primarily low income males and females between the ages of twenty-one (21) to sixty (60) volunteered to participate in this pilot study. These subjects were self-selected as respondents to a letter of initiation to participate in a study of essential hypertension that was mailed to a sample of two hundred low income blacks in the South Central Los Angeles area. The names of potential subjects were obtained from the list of participants in a community high blood pressure screening program (i.e., The United High Blood Pressure Foundation) and from the patient roster of a black physician with a large subsidized private practice. Letters were sent to equal numbers of males and females, and to equal numbers of individuals with recorded normotensive (NBP) and hypertensive levels of blood pressure (HBP).

Of the two hundred letters mailed, seventy-seven responses were received expressing a desire to participate. This final sample consisted of 51 NBP's (i.e., BP less than 140/90 mmHg) and 26 HBP's (i.e., PB equal to or greater than 140/90 mmHg). There were thirty-one males and forty-six females participating. The sex plus BP distribution of the sample showed that a substantial number of the HPB's were females (20) as compared to males (6). However, sex was equally distributed among NBP's. Similarly with age, although a deliberate effort was made to stratify the sample on age due to the high positive correlation between age and incidence of hypertension, the process of self-selection resulted in a rather skewed sample. NBP's were significantly older with a mean age of forty-eight years (t75) = 14.44, $p < .01$. The average of the total sample was thirty-five years. The confounding effects of sex and age will be statistically adjusted in all subsequent analyses. Two subjects were subsequently dropped from the analysis due to income data, thus leaving a functional sample of seventy-five (75) subjects.

With respect to SES, the majority of the subjects were from low income backgrounds as assessed by current occupation. Forty-nine (Ss (i.e., 64%) reported their current occupational status as either unemployed, retired, housewife, service worker, or as unskilled blue collar worker. Eighteen Ss had either middle-income occupations (i.e., 11 professionals), or were upwardly mobile (i.e., 6 white-collar workers, 1 college student). The SES background of 8 Ss were not reported.

Instruments

Blood pressure readings were taken during a private one-hour interview using a standard Tycos Sphymomanometer with a hand aneroid and a pre-calibrated Velco cuff V model HRI 8140-5098-02. Four blood pressure readings were taken from the right arm at heart level. Criterion of hypertension (i.e., elevated BP) was set at or above 149/90 mmHg.

A self-administered, one hour questionnaire was also used. This scale included a 67-item demographic, personal and family health history scale (CMIQ), a 4-item Subjective Stress Scale (SSS), a 33-item Somatic Perception Questionnaire (SPQ). In this paper, only the results specific to the SSS and SPQ will be reported and discussed.

Subjective Stress Scale (SSS)

The SSS is a 4-item scale developed by Chapman and Reeder (1966). As a total scale, moderate correlations were reported with personal and familial history of cardiovascular disease (i.e., $r = .4$). Individual items in the scale, however, have reported correlation as high as $r = .7$ with this criterion variable. As such, therefore, the results on scale were analyzed in two ways: (1) individual item scores and (2) as a sum score across the 4-items (Chapman and Reeder, 1966; Schar, et al., 1973).

The scale is-designed to measure the degree to which an individual perceives himself/herself as subjectively stressed. Essentially the respondent is asked to what degree the following four descriptive statements of generalized stressfulness are personally relevant.

1. In general, I am usually tense or nervous.
2. There is a great amount of nervous strain connected with my daily activities. I am always under pressure.
3. At the end of the day, I am completely exhausted, mentally and physically.
4. My daily activities are extremely trying and stressful.

Responses are made on a 4-point Likert scale with ratings of "Very Well," "Fairly Well," "Not Very Well," and "Not At All," and is inversely scored (i.e., high score = low stress. This scale was selected for use with a black, predominantly low income sample because of the simplicity of its language and format. In addition, the sample on which it was originally used included blacks from Los Angeles. No evidence suggesting problems with its use with such a sample was reported.

Somatic Response Scale (SPQ)

This variable is defined as the pattern of subjectively acknowledged somatic symptoms the individual reports as usually occurring when he/she is stressed. For the purposes of this study the 33-item Subjective Perception Questionnaire (BPQ) developed by Guthrie, et al., (1975) was used. This scale consists of a list of thirty-three reactions people generally report as occurring under stress. Subjects were asked to report whether they (1) Never, (2) Sometimes, (3) Usually happened to them when they are stressed.

The SPQ items on the cluster were reported by Guthrie into six somatic factors, which include: (I) Sympathetic Response, (II) Loss of Control, (III) Cognitive Disorganization, (IV) Affective Disturbances, (V) Gastro-intestional Disorders, and (VI) Cardio-respiratory Disorders. An important objective in the pilot study was to determine whether this six-factor solution would be obtained with a low-income, black U.S. population and with hypertensives. Although there was no reason to suspect that a comparable factor structure would not be obtained, we felt that the absence of any formal test of the utility and factor structure of this scale with these populations (i.e., blacks and hypertensives) made any assumption of scale stability unjustified. It is very important to determine what somatic factors emerge when blacks and hypertensives are asked to identify their stress induced somatic responses and to determine what similarities and/or differences exists between this pattern of responses and those reported by previous samples.

Design and Analyses

A random sample, partially stratified by age and sex survey was used in the study. Analyses to test for significant differences between groups consisted mainly of t-tests of significance (i.e., pooled to and Hotteling T^2) on the subjective stress variable, and factor analyses with Varimax rotations to determine the most parsimonious factor solutions for the pattern of somatization variable. In all analyses, the criterion for statistical significance is α =.05.

Procedures

Prospective subjects were randomly selected from the patient roster of the collaborating agencies and contacted by mail. Those who agreed to participate were then interviewed by a trained member of the survey team. All members of the survey teams were black college students. Every effort was made to match interview and subject by sex to insure greater cooperation and to control for any extraneous effects that the sex of the interviewer might produce.

The interview sequence began with a review of the purposes of the study and the procedures to be followed. After the appropriate consent forms were signed and witnessed, the first blood pressure reading was taken. The entire self-administered questionnaire was then given. Subsequent BP readings were spaced throughout the questionnaire at 20 minute intervals. The fourth and final BP reading was taken after the questionnaire was completed. Questions from the subject were then entertained and any additional issues pertinent to the study were discussed. The subject was then given a report of his/her average BP readings and was thanked for their cooperation.

Results

In Table 1 we report the man ages and blood pressure as a function of sex and BP groupings. Females were slightly but not significantly older than males, and there were no significant differences on either systolic or diastolic BP as a function of sex. As expected by definition, the HBP group differed significantly from the NBP group on both systolic BP (t (75) = 12.68, $p < .0001$) and diastolic BP (t (75) = 10.48, $P < .0001$). An unexpected and undesired result reported previously was the highly significant difference in age as a function of BP groupings, such that the HBP groups was older than the NBP (t (75) = 4.444, $P < .01$). As a result, all subsequent analyses controlled for this age effect.

Table 1

Mean Ages and Blood Pressure by Sex and Clinical Groups

Groups	Age	Systolic	Diastolic
Total Sample (75)	35.40 (15.50)[a]	129.14 (20.76)	84.74 (15.13)
Males	31.76 (17.05)	124.89 (15.11)	77.66 (13.65)
Females (45)	37.78 (14.08)	131.91 (23.49)	89.36 (14.37)
Hypertensives (26)	48.07** (8.74)	153.04**** (13.56)	101.07**** (8.47)
Males (6)	48.99 (8.12)	148.33 (7.53)	95.33 (8.64)
Females (20)	47.80 (9.11)	154.45 (14.77)	102.79 (7.82)
Normotensives (49)	29.52 (15.04)	117.42 (12.21)	76.82 (11.35)
Males (24)	27.46 (16.01)	114.28 (25.67)	73.66 (10.66)
Females	29.33 (12.50)	112.57 (9.30)	(77.52 (7.04)

[a] Figures in parenthesis represent standard deviations
*$p < .05$
**$p < .01$
****$p < .0001$

Subjective Stress

A major hypothesis tested by this study was the positive relationship between perceived levels of subjective stress and level of blood pressure. It was expected that the HBP group would perceive themselves as under stress more than the NBP group.

The results of the subjective stress variable (SS) were analyzed in two ways: (1) each item was scored and analyzed singularly using the pooled t statistic, and (2) a sum score was computed and the differences between the groups tested using the Hotelling T^2 statistic. These procedures were chosen in light of the differences in predictability of the individual items versus the summed score as reported by Chapman and Reeder (1966) and Schar, et al., (1973). The scale items were inversely scored from 1-4, a score of 1=high stress, and a score of 4=low stress. Potential scores across all four items range from 4 (maximum stress) to 16 (minimum stress).

Overall, all subjects reported moderate levels of subjective stress (i.e., mean SS = 12.11). Individual item means were also in the moderate range (i.e., mean of 2.99, 2.98, and 3.21). There were no significant differences due to sex on either the individual items or the sum score, however, men reported slightly lower levels of subjective stress than did the females.

Comparing the blood pressure groups on subjective stress using the sum score across all four items, we find a significant difference between the groups (t (74) = 4.70 $P < .01$). The HBP group reported significantly greater subjective stress than the NBP group.

Table 2

Mean Subjective Stress by Sex and Blood Pressure Groups

	Total Sample	Females	Males	Normotensives	Hypertensives
Aggregated Score [a]	12.23	11.67	12.73	13.46	10.37 *
	(3.21)	(3.18)	(3.31)	(2.77)	(2.75)
Item Score					
a. Generally Tense	2.99	2.80	3.29	3.36	2.46
	(1.0)	(1.0)	(.95)	(.88)	(.90)
b. Nervous Strain	2.98	2.98	2.99	3.22	2.58
	(.99)	(.95)	(1.08)	(.93)	(1.03)
c. Exhausted at End of Day	2.98	2.91	3.09	3.36	2.38
d. Stress in Daily Activities	3.21	3.13	3.33	3.52	2.67
	(.97)	(.98)	(.95)	(.84)	(.98)

*$p < .01$

NOTE: Scale is inversely scored 1-4 such that a high score represents low stress and low score high stress

[a] Scores summed over the four items and a total score computed for each subject.

Analyzing group differences on BP on each of the four items on the scale, then pooling the group responses and conducting a test of significance of differences using the Hotelling T^2, we again find significant differences between the HBP and NBP groups in the predicted direction (T^2 (4.72) = 22.45, $p < .0001$). Because of the previously reported age X BP confound, we partialled out the effect of age and conducted this analysis using the residuals. With age effects controlled, there were no significant differences found between HBP and NBP groups (T^2 (4.72) = 4.65, $P < .36$). These results suggest that the group differences on subjective stress in our sample are probably due to differences in the age of the groups rather than to the hypothesized relationship between subjective stress and BP. Similar results are found when an item by item analysis is conducted. With age uncontrolled, the HBP group reported significantly greater stress than the NBP group on all items. However, when age is controlled, no significant differences are found on any of the four items. Item number 4, "stressful daily activities" closely approaches significance when the age confound is controlled (t (71) = 1.85, $P < .07$).

Table 3

Age and Adjusted and Unadjusted Mean Subjective Stress Scores by Blood Pressure

Group	Usually Tense	Nervous Strain	Complete Exhaustion	Successful Daily Activities	Total Scale
NBP	2.46	2.58	2.38	2.62	2.51
NBP	3.24	3.18	3.27	3.49	3.30
Pooled t (75)	3.33***	2.58**	3.71****	4.10****	T^2(4.72) = 22.45
[a]RHBP	- .22	- .24	- .27	- .27	- .25
RNBP	.11	.12	.13	.13	.12
Pooled t (71)	1.43	1.50	1.64	1.85	T^2(4.72) =4.65

**$p < .01$
***$p < .001$
****$p < .0001$

Note: Scale inversely scored such that low score reflects high stress. Therefore, negative residuals reflect higher stress score than a low position score.

[a]Age partialled out of analysis as a control for significant age X BP interaction.

Somatic Response

The primary question addressed here is whether hypertensives and normotensives differed significantly in their pattern of somatic responses when under stress. The stages in our analysis consisted of (1) determining the most parsimontous and meaningful factor solution for the total sample for age. The criterion used for determining which items are to be included in the factor analysis was a minimum squared multiple 2 of 0.49 but not greater than 0.99, (2) labelling these factors, and (3) comparing the relative loadings for hypertnesives and normotensives on these factors.

Six different factor analyses were carried out, one for each of the two BP groups and one for the pooled sample of 75 subjects without partialling out. The final results produced six different factor solutions, one for each of the BP groups and for the pooled samples both with and without the confounding effects of age partialled out. For the purposes of this study only the factor solutions using the residuals are reported. The multiple R^2 for the pooled sample and the HBP and NBP groups are reported in Table 4. In an item by group comparison, we find that each of the items for the pooled sample is lower than that for the HBP and NBP group. Similarly, controlling for age effects generally reduces the multiple R^2.

For the pooled sample, three items, "knot in stomach," "hands shake," and "bites nails" fail to meet the minimum criterion of $R^2 = 0.49$ for inclusion in the analysis. For the HBP group, on the other hand, all multiple R^2 are very high, with nine items having to be dropped because of multiple $R^2 = 1.00$. This suggests, that for all intents and purposes, these items and the total scale are identical and interchangeable. The items that were dropped from the factor solution for the HBP group for this reason were: "feeling oppressed," "lump in throat," "body sweat," "acid stomach," and "feels dizzy." As a group, these items reflect a generalized feelings of pressure and anxiety that manifest itself in cognitive, cardiovascular, sympathetic and gastro-intestinal symptoms.

Table 4

Sauared Multiple r for Blood Pressure Groups with Age Effects Controlled and Uncontrolled

	Pooled Sample (N=75)		HBP (N=26)		NBP (N=49)		
Items (Abbreviated)	Wt/Age[a]	W/O Age[b]	Wt/Age	W/O Age	W/Age	W/O Age	
1. Flushed Face	.538	.512	.939	.746	.781	.742	
2. Excess Gas	.606	.602	.968	.654	.505	.633	e
3. Cold Hands	.667	.664	.902	.760	.768	.778	e
4. Feeling Oppressed	.690	.688	---c	.939	.926	.916	
5. Lump in Throat	.661	.686e	---c	.893	.796	.826	e
6. Memory Stops	.630	.627	.997	.920	.900	.702	
7. Stutters	.542	.567e	---c	.705	.669	.766	e
8. Aware of Heartbeat	.592	.550	---c	.818	.714	.803	e
9. Breath Short	.657	.635	.999	.828	.775	.854	e
10. Diarrhea	.578	.576	.996	.841	.758	.850	e
11. Thoughts Confused	.743	.739	.940	.927	.928	.924	
12. Sweaty Palms	.545	.538	.944	.723	.780	.726	
13. Heartbeat Quick	.675	.652	.996	.755	.839	.736	
14. Feels Guilty	.657	.658e	.998	.919	.891	.919	e
15. Urge to Urinate	.538	.492	.868	.940	.904	.944	e
16. Nightmares	.633	.619	.997	.889	.871	.890	e
17. Rashes and Pimples	.527	.555e	.999	.821	.801	.818	e
18. Knot in Stomach	---d	---d	.974	.733	.622	.707	e
19. Feels weak	,726	.732e	---c	.761	.805	.793	
20. Can't Concentrate	.617	.621e	---c	.781	.790	.815	e
21. Body sweat	.641	.625	---c	.898	.904	.884	
22. Hands Shake	---d	---d	.999	.823	.838	.824	
23. Worries	.689	.678	.997	.820	.822	.822	
24. Sigh	.688	.680	.907	.875	.847	.883	e
25. Feels Restless	.652	.654e	.995	.854	.808	.886	e
26. Acid Stomach	.564	.531	---c	.681	.591	.677	e
27. Bites Nails	---d	---d	.965	.855	.895	.794	
28. Mouth Dry	.654	.641	.999	.906	.891	.907	e
29. Trouble Sleeping	.628	.592	.968	.764	.862	.759	
30. Muscle Twitches	.525	.480	.990	.646	.682	.529	
31. Headaches	.691	.639	.985	.849	.848	.789	
32. Feels No Good	.638	.607	.999	.955	.933	.963	e
33. Feels Dizzy	.694	.645	---c	.881	.781	.884	e

[a] multiple r with age effects uncontrolled
[b] multiple r controlling effects of age
[c] item removed because multiple r=1.00
[d] item removed because multiple r= .50
[e] multiple R^2 larger when age is partialled out

However, when we partialled out the effects of age thus reducing the size of multiple R^2, all items fall within the acceptable range for inclusion in the analysis.

For the NBP group, all items meet the multiple R^2 requirements for inclusion in the analysis. However, unlike the pooled sample and the HBP group, when age is controlled and the multiple R^2 is computed based on the residuals, and R^2 increases for 19 of the 33 items. These items do not appear by observation to cluster into any meaningful pattern.

It appears then that these three groups, the pooled sample, the HBP and the NBP respond somewhat differently to the somatization scale. The moderately high R^2 of the pooled sample suggest greater discriminability among factors (i.e., items differ in what they measure from the other items on the scale. The very high R^2 for the HBP and NBP groups as a function of age suggests that somatization is a more global phenomena for these groups rather than a discrete patterning of symptoms (i.e., factors).

The results of the factor analyses were rather inconclusive. For the pooled sample, an eight-factor solution with more than one variable loading high was obtained, but only 21% of the variance was accounted for. Of those eight factors, only three appear to be reasonably meaningful and interpretable. These include a rather large general factor I labeled: Cognitive Dissruption, with eight item loadings including, poor memory, confused thoughts, difficulty concentrating, trouble sleeping, feeling depressed, quickening heartbeat, feeling guilty and feelings of weakness; II. Sympathetic Reactions manifested by headaches, shortness of breath, cold hands, excess gas, and awareness of heartbeat; and III. Affective Symptoms, including sighs, worries and feelings restless. The other five factors included a mixture of cognitive sympathetic gastro-intestinal and neuro-dermal symptoms but not in any clear, interpretable patterning. The very low variance accounted for further suggests caution in the interpretation and confidence placed in these results.

The HBP group produced an eight-factor solution that accounted for 20.4% of the variance. Of these factors, the first (1) is clearly interpretable as a Sympathetic Reaction factor with symptoms such as shortness of breath, headaches, and quickening heartbeat; Factor III is generally a Cognitive Disruption factor with symptoms like poor memory, trouble sleeping, and confused thoughts. The other six factors are an uninterpretable mixture of symptom patterns.

The NBP group produced a six-factor solution that accounted for 20.2% of the variance. Four additional factors with one variable loading high were also identified. Of these six major factors, only two are interpretable. Factor I is a large general factor most appropriately labelled generalized Congitive Disturbance. It included symptoms such as feeling oppressed, feel no good, feeling guilty, confused thoughts, cannot concentrate, sighs, poor memory, feeling restless, trouble sleeping, quickening heartbeat, and aware of heartbeat. This factor included most of the same variables loaded as factor I in the pooled sample. Similarly, factor II is mainly a Sympathetic Reaction with such symptoms as feels dizzy, body sweat, and shortness of breath. The other factors are largely an uninterpretable mixture of somatic symptoms.

Discussion

Briefly summarizing our findings, we found from a non-representative sample of seventy-five (75) blacks that there were no significant differences between hypertensives and normotensives on either subjective stressfulness of life, or on pattern of somatic symptoms when stressed. A significant age difference between these groups appears to account for much of the identified differences between the groups.

In general, the results of this pilot study were unclear and inconclusive. There were the expected differences in mean BP between groups which simply confirms the fact that the groups met the primary selection criteria. Our failure to confirm our hypothesis of BP group differences

Table 5

The Somatization Factor Solution for Blood Pressure Groups

Groups	I Cognitive Disruption	II Sympathetic Reactions	III Affective Symptoms	% Variance
Pooled Sample (N=75)	Memory Stops (.79)	Headaches (.75)	Sighs (.69)	
	Confused Thoughts (.74)	Shortness of breath (.59	Worries (.69)	
	Can't Concentrate (.73)	Cold hands (.59)		
	Trouble Sleeping (.62)	Excess Gas (.57)	Feels Restless (.63)	21%
	Feeling Oppressed (.61)	Aware of heartbeat (.51)		
	Quickening Heartbeat (.57)			
	Guilty (.57)			
	Weakness (.53)			

	I Sympathetic Reactions	II Cognitive Disruption	
	Shortness of breath (.93)	Memory Stops (.91)	
	Headaches (.75)	Trouble Sleeping (.71)	
	Quickening Heartbeat (.73)	Confused Thoughts (.63)	20%

	I Cognitive Disruption	II Sympathetic Reaction	
	Feeling Oppressed (.81)	Feeling Dizzy (.81)	
	Feels No Good (.78)	Body Sweat (.69)	
	Feeling Guilty (.76)	Shortness of Breath (.53)	
	Confused Thoughts (.75)		
	Can't Concentrate (.65)		
	Memory Stops (.62)		
	Restless (.57)		
	Trouble Sleeping (.53)		
	Quickening Heartbeat (.52)		
	Aware of Heartbeat (.51)		20.2%
	Sighs (.63)		

on subjective stress due to an age confound may be clarified in part by looking at the test items themselves. All four items appear to tap the type of "stressfulness of life" more likely to be associated with the high pace of productive, achievement-oriented, employment related activities. Our sample of hypertensives, however, consisted mainly of older, unemployed, retired, housewives, and/or low skilled individuals whose life pace and style may not be stressful in the way measured by this scale. The normotensives, on the other hand, were largely younger individuals and students for whom the item on this scale may have been somewhat more appropriate. Our failure to disconfirm the null hypothesis due to a deficiency in the design leaves the alternative hypothesis still open to a more ingurous test. Furthermore, subsequent studies will need to explore what quantitive differences in the types of stresses experienced and the ways of subjectively appraising and expressing them exists in different age and SES groups among blacks. The present investigations are currently engaged in research designed to further clarify these questions.

The results on the pattern of somatization variable were equally unclear and non-supportive of our primary hypothesis. The expected six-factor solution reported by Guthrie, et al., (1975) was not obtained. This may be due mainly to differences in the populations studied. Guthrie and his colleagues developed and used this scale on a cross-cultural sample of university students, all of whom were from middle and upper middle SES backgrounds. Our sample consisted of mainly low income, U.S. blacks. Our results seem to suggest two main findings. First, that as a group, our sample of blacks manifest their stress in two or three reasonably coherent somatic patterns, Cognitive Disruption, Sympathetic Reactions, and to a lesser extent Affective Symptoms. In all cases, the largest and most reliable factor was the first which, although labeled "Cognitive Disruption" for the NBP and pooled sample reflects more of a mixture of cardiovascular affective and sympathetic reactions to generalized pressure. Second, that the black hypertensives sampled appear to differ from the normotensives more on the relative order of importance of the response cluster rather than in the nature of the responses themselves (i.e., both reported generally the same two factors but differed in which was most important).

Our failure to obtain the predicted cardiovascular or cardio-respiratory factor reported by Guthrie, et al., (1975), may be due to the fact that as a group our sample did not respond somatically to stress with a clearly stereotypical pattern. Rather, they tended to react to the experience of stress and strain in their lives with more global, multi-system responses. A larger, more carefully stratified representative sample of U.S. blacks is needed to test this "global somatic response" hypothesis. Currently, we are elaborating on these and other empirical questions of hypertension in blacks as part of a larger research program on stress and health in the U.S. black population.

In summary, the results prove inconclusive. The hypotheses stated for this study need to be revised and submitted to a stricter test. Particular attention needs to be placed on possible social class and race effects on blood pressure variation, and more carefully elaborated and sensitive measures of the stress appraisal and somatic response of blacks are needed.

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Analysis of Folk Tales for Prosocial Behavior among Slaves: Exploration of a Methodology

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Abstract

The purpose of the paper is to explore a methodology for analyzing folk tales for prosocial behaviors among slaves. Methodology problems involved in using slave folk tales as a source of incidents of prosocial acts were reviewed. In addition, the constructs were defined and illustrated along with a preliminary analysis of a sample of the data.

The purpose of the paper is to explore a methodology for analyzing folk tales for prosocial behaviors among slaves. Mussen and Eisenberg-Berg (1977) stated in synthesizing the findings from many studies, "we conclude that children are likely to develop high levels of prosocial behavior if they are raised in cultures characterized by (1) stress (from parents, peers, and other agents of socialization) on consideration of others, sharing and orientation toward the group; (2) simple social orientation or a traditional, rural setting; (3) assignment to women of important economic functions; (4) members of the extended family living together; and (5) early assignment of tasks and responsibility to children" (p. 63). That the slave culture was characterized by conditions described in Mussen and Eisenberg-Berg (1977), points two through five, is documented in several writings by social scientists and historians (Aptheker, 1951; Blassingame, 1972; Dubois, 1924; Frazier, 1949; Gutman, 1976; Tannenbaum, 1963). The purpose of this paper is to explore a methodology for investigating the existence of the first mentioned conditions, stress on consideration of others, sharing, and orientation toward the group or prosocial behaviors as a value among the agents of socialization.

Prosocial behavior has been operationally defined in the research literature under different terms, e.g., altruism, generosity, empathy, etc., (Shantz, 1975). Furthermore, various aspects of prosocial behavior have been the focus of research studies, e.g., role of internalized norms and self-rewards, situational and developmental trends, etc., (Shantz, 1975). Also, there are no generally accepted methods of assessing traits such as generosity, kindness, sympathy, concern for others or altruism, each investigator devises his own or copies others (Mussen & Eisneberg-Berg, 1977). Yet, most researchers in the area agree on the importance of socialization practices of external agents as a determinant of the tendency for an individual to learn and perform prosocial acts (Mussen & Eisenberg-Berg, 1977).

Social learning or behavioristic explanation for the importance of socialization practices in fostering prosocial behavior is incorporated in two processes, modeling and reinforcement. According to the behaviorist view, a culture shapes an individual into a product acceptable to itself. The culture makes a product desirable by reinforcing approved responses and extinguishing all others. That is, it teaches the individual what is good and what is bad and what constitutes the ideal personality (Travers, 1977). Therefore, the culture teaches the individual that prosocial behavior is an important trait by example, reinforcing the behavior, and punishing antisocial behavior.

The problem in discussing the stress on prosocial behavior by the agents of socialization is how did they handle dominance-seeking and egotistic behaviors. The value a culture placed on consideration of others is balanced by its view on dominance-seeking and egotism. Thus, the interrelationship between prosocial and egotistic behaviors as child-rearing values is explored.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss some of the methodological problems in using a content analysis of slave folk tales as a source of incidents of prosocial behaviors. In addition, the constructs shall be defined and illustrated along with a preliminary analysis of a sample of the data.

Methodological Considerations: Folk Tales

Selection of materials. In investigating the probable existence of a value in a culture, one of the methodology problems is the selection of materials as a source which do represent the culture or at least some significant segment of it. Moreover, the materials must explicitly perform the function of transmitting and instilling social norms. Folk tales have been used as a source of material that meet these requirements (North, Holsti, Zaninovich & Zinnes, 1963). The most noted example of the use of folk tales of a culture as a source of its' social norms, is the work of McClelland (1961) on the achievement motive. McClelland (1961) assumed "that since these stories are told and retold orally by many different people in the culture, the way in which they are told will come to reflect a kind of 'average level' of motivation among the people in the tribe" (p. 64). Similarly, Child, Storm, and Veroff (1958) examined twelve folk tales from 50 different cultures to support their hypotheses concerning achievement motivation among the cultures. Thus, there is support in past research for using folk tales as a source of material for a culture's values.

However, the uniqueness of slavery as a culture poses additional problems for using collections of slave folk tales. To begin with, there is the problem of the meaning of the tales being lost in the transcribing. For the most part, slave folk tales were collected by whites who were unfamiliar with the dialect and nuances of the speech of slaves. Although there were attempts to imitate the dialect (Harris, 1880), the underlying emphasis on the intent of the tale may not be completely represented in the recorded version. However, it is impossible to obtain written verions of the tales by slaves. Therefore, in an attempt to obtain as clear an illustration of the tale as possible, the tales selected for inclusion in the study will be cross-checked in two different printed versions for exact wording.

Another problem concerns the representiveness of the tales as those most widely circulated among slaves. In other words, how representative are the tales that are in collections of the stories slaves told to one another, as compared to the ones they told to whites. There is no clear solution to this problem except to assume that the tales at least represent a significant part of the tales in circulation among slaves.

In the same manner, folklorists have referred to difference in folk tales depending on geographical area, i.e., Sea Coast Islands of South Carolina, Georgia, northern states (Dorson, 1956). However, one of the assumptions of this research is that the environmental conditions of slavery is germane to the existence of prosocial behavior as a value among slaves. Therefore, it is assumed that a prosocial theme will exist in some of the tales in all the geographical regions.

In short, it is assumed that examining folk tales for incidences of prosocial behavior will reflect the existence of the construct as an important value among salves.

Sampling plan. One of the sampling problems that is inherent in the research design is the assurance of correspondence between the time the folk tale was in circulation and the dates the prosocial acts occurred. Therefore, the sampling technique will have to avoid this problem by only selecting folk tales that were recorded from slaves or thought to be in existence during slavery by the collector. It will be assumed that the meaning of the original tale will still be retained even if the characters have changed (e.g., spider vs. terrapin) and the exact wording has been slightly altered.

The Collections that will be sampled will be those that collected tales from mainland United States. There are Collections from slaves in the Caribbean and Latin America. A list of the Collections are as follows: Dorson, R.M., American Negro Folktales; George Writers' Project, Drums and Shadows; Jones, C.C., Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast; Hughes, L., and Bontemps, A., The Book of Negro Folklore.

These collections are most frequently mentioned in the literature and between them should contain a representative selection of known folk tales that were in circulation during slavery. Each collection will be reviewed for folk tales that were recorded by slaves or ex-slaves or thought to be from the slavery period. The folk tales will be given a number and ten tales from each Collection will be randomly selected. The total number of tales that will be included in the study is 40.

Definition of Prosocial Behavior: Folk Tales

Categories. It is important in defining the categories that they are mutually exclusive, so that no item can be scored more than once within a category set (North, et al., 1963). The categories for scoring prosocial behavior are listed below:

(1) Cooperativeness. Refers to behavior in which two or more persons (or animals behaving like humans) work together for mutual benefit (Liebert, Paulos, & Marmor, 1977). In addition, the person offers help, support, or suggests responsibility.

(2) Altruism. Refers to behavior for which reward to another is important relative to self-reward. That is, helping behavior which is not always mediated by concern for own outcomes. It is directed towards another who has expressed some visible and objective sign of real need (Schneider, 1976).

(3) Generosity. Refers to behaviors that include giving or desiring to give of rewards, food, and possession, expressions of kindness and affection, especially towards young, old, ill, or infirmed people (Barry, Josephson, Laver, & Marshall, 1976).

As noted Cooperativeness differs from Altruism in that the individual to whom the behavior is directed must have given some sign of distress or need. Furthermore, Cooperativeness differs from Generosity in that it does not involve sharing of material possessions but the person's time or service. Altruism alone differs from the other two categories in that the behavior involves self-sacrifice when giving time, service, or sharing possessions. Generosity differs from the other two categories in that it involves expressions of kindness and affection and actual sharing of possessions.

The folk tales will also be scored for the antithesis of prosocial behavior, egotistic behavior. The category Egotism refers to behavior such as dominance-seeking, benefits for self at the expense of someone else, and putting self-needs over others' needs.

Scoring. The folk tales will be scored by two judges who are folklorists working independently. The scoring system will be explained to the judges and they will score three tales and have the opportunity to ask questions about the scoring before scoring the folk tales included in the study. The scoring system involves identifying and categorizing the theme; and deciding whether the outcome was positive or negative.

(1) Identifying and categorizing the theme. The judge categorizes the theme or message into one of the four categories described above. If the message does not fit into any of the categories the judge then writes "not applicable" on the scoring sheet.

(2) Outcome of behavior. The judge must score the outcome of the message for participants. A positive score is given if the goal (e.g., food) is obtained or the behavior is rewarded in some manner (e.g., praise or goodwill from or for others). A negative score is given if the behavior does not achieve a goal or is punished in some manner.

Data Analysis. The experimental hypothesis to be tested in future research is that there is a significant difference between the outcome of prosocial behaviors (generosity, altruism, and cooperativeness) and egotism. It is expected that the prosocial behaviors will receive more positive outcomes than egotism. The statistical test to test the hypothesis will be a 2 x 2 Chi Square.

Below are examples of three tales. The scoring for these three tales is described in Table 1.

Table 1

Illustration of Scoring System for

Folk Tales

Tale	Theme	Outcome
The Quail and the Rabbit	Prosocial (Generosity)	Positive
The Magic Hoe	Egoistic	Negative
Terrapin's Pot of Sense	Egoistic	Negative

The Quail and the Rabbit (Silas Altheimer)

The Quail and the Rabbit were out hunting fruit. The Rabbit would run from place to place, but the Quail would fly. So finally the Quail found a patch where there were ripe peaches and ripe canteloupe and ripe watermelons and ripe plums and a field of ripe peas nearby, all of which the Quail liked, especially the peas. But he didn't want the Rabbit to share in it. So the Quail rose and flew in the direction the Rabbit went until she saw the Rabbit, then she fell to the earth, and ran all around, shuffling her wings, and fall down and roll. The Rabbit said, 'Mr. Quail, what's the matter?'

And the Quail shuffled her wings and rolled around and said, 'Mr. Rabbit, we'd better leave here, and run as hard as we can. I went down that way and a great big man met me. He beat me half to death. I wouldn't have gotten away had I not flown.'

And so the Quial began to run a little bit and fly, run a little big and fly, and the Rabbit ran too, and he carried the Rabbit in the opposite direction. After getting the Rabbit considerably away the Quail got some of his friend quails and flew back to the orchard and peafield, where they feasted on peas and ripe plums.

So that's one time Mr. Rabbit was beaten.

Terrapin's Pot of Sense

In the old days they was a big competition 'mongst the animals to see which one of 'em could collect the most good sense. Buh Coon, Buh Fox, Buh Guinea, Buh Geese, Buh Snake, and all the others went runnin' around pickin' up pieces of good sense on the ground or on the bushes or wherever they could find 'em. Buh Coon had a little pile of good sense in his place, Buh Rabbit had a little pile in his place, Buh Rooster had some in his place. Of course, they was all in such a hurry to outdo the other folks that some of the sense they picked up wasn't so good, and some was downright spoiled. But everyone was braggin' 'bout what a pile of sense he had back home. Trouble was, the places they had to keep it wasn't just right. Buh Possum's house had a leak in the roof, and everytime it rained, the water came drip, drip, drip, down on Possum's pile of sense. Buh 'Gator he put his sense in the nest where he keep his eggs, but every time the young ones hatch out they jump around and kick the good sense all over the place. Buh Rooster have his good sense in a nice pretty pile, but his wife, Sister Hen she's so nearsighted she can't tell sense from corn, and she was always a peckin' at it. Buh Duck he want to fly South in the winter and don't know what to do with his pile of sense.

Well, Buh Terrapin he got a fine idea. He say, 'Friends, what we need is a caretaker to take care of all the sense we gathered. You just bring it to me and I'll be the caretaker.'

All the animals liked the idea, 'cause it eased their worries for 'em. So they all brought the sense they'd collected to Buh Terrapin, and he gave each and every one of 'me a receipt for it. Then he took all that sense and put it in a big iron cookin' pot.

Afterward he begin to study where could he hang the pot. At last he decided he goin' to hang it top of a great big sycamore tree safe and sound. So he took the pot in front of him and went to climb the tree with it. But he got a powerful problem, 'cause the pot was pretty big and Terrapin's legs was too short in the first place to be climbin' trees. Took Terrapin most of the day to get halfway up. All the critters was standin' around watchin' that pot of sense go up, sayin', 'Hey there, Buh Terrapin, careful of that pot! It got my sense in it!'

Just afore nightfall a wind come up and begin blowin' things around. The top of the sycamore tree began to switch back and forth. Wind got stronger, and the top of the tree commence to whippin' around till Buh Terrapin couldn't hold on no more. He hollered, 'Here I come!' and let go.

Buh Terrapin landed smack on his back and lay right there where he fall. The iron pot hit the ground and rolled this way and that. Naturally, everything that was in it got scattered all over. All the critters started to run around pickin' up pieces of sense. Everything was mixed up, and couldn't no one tell which was his and which was somebody else's. Didn't have time then to figure out what was good sense, or ordinary sense, or plain stupidity--everybody just grabbed.

And when they had they hands full and didn't know what to do with it, Buh Horse say, 'I don't know what all you folks doin' with yours, but I'm puttin' mine in my head.' And when he did that, the others say, 'I'm puttin' mine in my head too,' and they did the same as Buh Horse did. That's how come all the critters got sense in their heads. And they got good sense and bad sense as well. Some's luckier than others in what they picked up. Most everybody got a mixture, though.

When that part of it was all over, they saw Buh Terrapin still on his back, and they righted him. They saw his shell was all cracked from fallin' on the ground, just the way it's been ever since. They went away and left him. Terrapin he crawled around in the grass lookin' for bits of sense they'd left behind. He found some, but they hadn't left much for him. When you see Buh Terrapin crawlin' around in the grass nowadays, you can figure he's still lookin' for some scraps of sense.

That's a sad story for Buh Terrapin ain't it? But some folks figure he had it comin', on account of they think he was fixin' to get all the sense for himself by appointin' himself caretaker.

The Magic Hoe

Bruh Rabbit and Bruh Wolf was always tryin' to git the best o' one another. Now Bruh Wolf he own a hoe and it work for crop all by itself. Bruh Wolf just say, 'Swish,' to it. Then he sit down in the field and the hoe do all the work.

Bruh Rabbit he want that hoe. He hide behind bush and watch how the wolf make it work. One day when the wolf away, Bruh Rabbit he steal the hoe. He go to he own field and he stand the hoe up and he say, 'Swish.' The hoe start to work. It work and work. 'Fore long the crop is done finish. Then rabbit want hoe to stop, and he call out and he call out but hoe keep right on workin.' Bruh Rabbit don't know what word to say to stop it. Pretty soon the hoe cut down all Bruh Rabbit's winter crop and still it keep on workin' and workin'. Bruh Rabbit wring he hands. Everything he has is gone. Just then Bruh Wolf come along and he laugh and laugh out loud when he see how Bruh Rabbit steal he hoe and how it done ruin all the crop. Bruh Rabbit he keep callin' out, 'Swish, swish,' and the hoe go faster and faster. When he see Bruh Wolf, he ax 'im to make the hoe stop. Bruh Wolf won't say nothin' at all cause he mad that Bruh Rabbit steal he hoe. Then after a time he say, 'Slow, boy,' and the hoe he stop workin'. Then Bruh Wolf he pick up he hoe and carry him home.

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A Longitudinal Assessment of the Psychometric Intelligence of Black Infants, Ages 22 to 41 Months[1]

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Abstract

Briefly, this study attempted to replicate two early childhood education programs for parents of young children in order to study the process of social intervention in black lower class families. We proposed to demonstrate replication using the traditional criteria of children's cognitive test performance outcomes. We then proposed to test the model of social intervention by demonstrating that advances made by children were correspondingly paralleled by predictable patterns of maternal childrearing attitudes and observable teaching behaviors. We, finally, proposed to test the theory of social intervention by demonstrating that these patterns of maternal childrearing attitudes and observable teaching behaviors were associated with predictable personality processes shared by the intervenors.

The results may be briefly summarized as follows:

First, we were able to successfully replicate the parent programs and to show demonstrable results using the children's cognitive test performances.

Second, we found that patterns of maternal childrearing attitudes do vary in predictable ways with program participation.

Third, we found that the expressed values of intervenors as regards selfhood, children, and family life are more often shared by those program participants whose childrearing attitudes approximate those typically associated with socially mobile persons.

Fourth, we found that specific personality processes of program participants which emphasize being able to act so as to effectively influence one's own social environment also covary with these specific maternal childrearing attitudes.

The results as presented are in support of the thesis that we have developed, and partially tested a model and theory of social intervention in early childhood. It is a model which emphasizes the role of the parent as a teacher in the child's early life, whereby the parent is instrumental to the child's development. It is a theory which emphasizes the adaptive, aspirational character of the black lower class family relative to American society as a whole, and the specific importance of the parent's ability to perceive himself or herself as effectively able to influence the positive character of their own adult social relations in general, and their child's conceptual development in particular.

Introduction

Since the early 60's infant and preschool tests have been widely used to evaluate the impact of early intervention programs. For nearly as long

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This report is the first of two reports, and the more comprehensive. Report II contains our major findings using maternal-child observational data. That report also includes details of the development and implementation of our observational system, including our observational manual, the VIP Scale (Videotaped Interactive Play Scale). In this report, we summarize our research strategy and our major findings using child test and maternal interview data.

a time, there has been considerable criticism of the use of cognitive performance tests as criteria for the success or failure of these programs. There are major measurement problems associated with establishing reliability, and in assuring internal and external validity when such psychometric tests are designed for, and administered to, immature developing organisms. Children's rates and level of conceptual development, for example, may show considerable intraindividual variability across different functions and abilities. These difficulties are exacerbated when the study participants are black, or otherwise different from the middle class white children on whom the tests are typically standardized. Because these tests, in the later months of early childhood, become predictive of future school-related achievement and intelligence tests, they continue to be widely used. In fact, their use is so pervasive, that an individual investigator risks being unable to enter scientific discourse without first establishing population comparability through such test results. Such test results become, in effect, social or demographic indicators of who study participants are, rather than of what they can do.

While we are quite cognizant of the limitations of infant tests as indicators or predictors of level of cognitive development, we found it useful to first demonstrate replication of the results of other infant intervention studies in our own research before continuing to a more intensive study of other, we believed, more critical process variables which could be more naturally and directly linked to the short-term program goals identified by the parent education models used. However, because our assessment procedures and results of the performance tests were somewhat unique, they merit further discussion. Thus, this paper presents the infant testing results of a study which used a longitudinal multivariate, multimethod approach[2] to the study of mothers and children who participated in parent education programs designed to enhance early childhood development.

The participants were black, and from lower income communities in the Chicago area. All children were between 18-24 month at the onset of the study in October, 1974. They had a mean age of 22 months at the first testing, 32 months at the second, and 41 months at the last testing before the conclusion of the study in June, 1976. Eighty-three of 132 initial participants continued throughout the study. Complete test data were available for 56-57 of the children.

We deliberately chose the ages of the children in our study. It is known that social class differences in intellectual performance emerge around ages 2 1/2 to 3 years, a time in which the performance tests appear to also become increasingly educationally relevant. At this time, earlier observed racial differences which favor black children appear to disappear.

We do not attribute any special significance to the fact that our parents and their children are black, at least from the viewpoint of the psychological processes involved. We assume that any human group, under similar social and historical conditions, would display similar behavioral repertories.

Many conditions encountered by our mothers as parents of young children were more likely to occur among black families who live in depressed urban areas because of the discrimination and racism which had resulted in poverty, unemployment, and so forth. The particular housing conditions in which the children were being reared, and the relative absence of formal resources as social supports (e.g., community centers, playgrounds, etc.) during this period of childrearing are not as pervasive a part of the life styles of any other socially identifiable group of this size in this nation. The duration of this relative deprivation, and even assault, is also, with the exception of the American Indian, unparalleled. The black American has been remarkably creative and resilient in adapting to and coping with these experiences. Certainly, the behavioral reportoires which our mothers and children displayed emerged within these social and historical contexts.

While Afro-Americans may have no psychological history which is uniquely biologically-based, they are socially different, by comparison to other Americans. We studied our participants as mothers and children who are essentially Americans of African descent. They were considered neither "culturally deprived" nor "culturally different." Rather, they were considered uniquely bicultural in the sense in which W.E.B. DuBois originally, and Valentine (1968), in our generation, have developed the concept. We thus assumed that the mothers would aspire to many of the traditional American ideals, including those identified with educational and occupational success. We knew life styles would vary widely among participants and that, as a result, it would be possible, through an intensive study of individual differences and of process, to identify factors which influenced why and how some parents would be more receptive to "modern" notions of child care and service delivery than others. We identified these "modern" notions with those typically promoted by child development specialists, and we were also aware that many of these notions are linked to criteria associated with success in traditional schooling. Psychometric tests, of course, are for the most part normed on populations of children who, traditionally, fare better than this population in our existing schools.

Background

We chose two of our infant tests, the Cattell and the Peabody, for this study because they had been widely used with the best known of our two parent program models: the Levenstein Toy Demonstration program. When the children were old enough, at the third testing, we used the McCarthy Scales of Mental Abilities to obtain a more differentiated profile of their skills. Because our choice of tests was dictated by the parent programs,a brief description of each is appropriate. This description is followed by an overview of issues related to the psychometric evaluations of our young participating children.

A. Programs

The research emphasized three conditions: (1) Levenstein's Toy Demonstration program, (2) Mothers Discussion group program, and (3) a Control group. The Discussion group was initially conceived by us to be a conservative control to the home-based Toy Demonstration program.

The Toy Demonstration program utilizes a female "Toy Demonstrator" who, in effect, each week models play with the mother's child in the mother's presence using preselected toys which presumably have high stimulus value for young children. Two half-hour visits per week over a school calendar year are made with each dyad, the first for introduction of a new toy which the child is allowed to keep, and the second for review. Both mother and child are participants in this program, whose primary purposes are to enable the mother to observe the value of interactive play with an adult for a developing child, and how this 'play' can be stimulated, extended, and enriched. It is assumed that mothers will privately begin to initiate and/or sustain more of such experiences with the children in the Demonstrator's absence. Rationalized in terms of its long range applicability to children's successful school achievement, this program has been depicted by Bronfenbrenner (1975) as one of the leading parent education programs.

In contrast, the Discussion group emphasizes the mother, not the child, as the primary initial participant. Specific toys are not considered as essential to the program. Rather, this program emphasizes mutual sharing of information and experiences of personhood, home and family life, of mothers of similarly aged children. It is assumed that specific interest in those activities, such as play, which might enhance this development will develop secondarily, as a result of some of the mothers' own perceived personal needs being met through the group experience. At each of three housing sites, two groups of ten mothers each were initially formed and maintained where possible. The groups met weekly for about two hours; on occasion this time was used for outside field trips and consultation.[3]

The Control group received only the prescribed toys on a weekly basis, as developed in the Levenstein model.

B. Psychometric Evaluations of Infants

We assumed that the purpose of educational intervention programs with such families was to encourage a greater convergence between values and normative practices in the early home learning environment such that young children from such communities would ultimately experience a greater continuity between the expectations and demands of the home and school environments. We assumed that parent educational programs, in contrast to full day care programs such as that of Heber (1975) were most desirable because they emphasize positive linkages between home and school. Children can thus build on the necessary social and emotional supports from home to realize their own intellectual potential. We chose the program models precisely because they shared our focus. We assumed it to be good if the youngsters could be shown to perform equivalently to middle class ones on our standard psychometric measures of intelligence as, by preschool age, these measures have a moderately high predictive value for success in formal schooling.

We assumed that infant tests could be imperfect indices of a broader, more complex process of cognitive development. They were imperfect because no structural reorganization was considered in the implicit psychometric linear model of intelligence. In addition, and especially at later ages, they presumably indexed that aspect of intellectual functioning most amenable to social influences, namely verbal comprehension and production, in contrast to other early precursors of logico-mathematical operations. Initially, we were determined to attempt to close known potential gaps between actual performance and competence of the infants through assessment procedures designed to maximize their comfort in an inevitably unfamiliar setting. Our only regret was that the existing measures of sensorimotor intelligence did not span the ages of our sample children, estimated to be 18 to 48 months maximum over the two year study period. We would have preferred to use measures which tapped the systematic construction of reasoning over time, thus having more of an implicit model of the Piagetian notion of intellectual development.

These assumptions have essentially remained unchanged, but we have forced ourselves to be more explicit about our model for the evolution of sensorimotor intelligence and the role of the environment in this evolution. We now believe that the core elements of sensorimotor intelligence evolve because the human environment helps to channel the child's relatively diverse interactive potentialities into socially predictable or known processes of adaptive reasoning and problem-solving. When our tests identify an infant or preschool child as more or less "intelligent, essentially these tests indicate that the child behaves in accordance with, above, or below adult expectations for behaviors demanded of a child his/her age and little else. In short, a major research effort for developmental psychologists in the future is to define infant intelligence in the child's terms, specifically by identifying the laws governing how children affect what they learn through interactive encounters with their human environments, and, thus, how intelligent they appear to observant adults.

Because this line of reasoning guides our discussion of the results of our evaluation of infant intelligence, two examples are useful.

Lewis and others (1976) have recently discussed how infant intelligence appears to be neither stable nor unitary. Lewis himself (1969) has found that a measure of infant attention (i.e., rate of decrement of visual attentiveness when consistently presented with a familiar stimulus, and rate of return when reintroduced to a novel stimulus) has higher predictability from age 12 months to subsequent Binet test performance at 3 1/2 years than do any of our existing infant tests. It appears that infant tests may be of some diagnostic value at any given age, but that across the sensorimotor period they are markedly unstable. Bayley (1933) has reported correlations ranging from .04 to .09 between scores at 0-3 months and those at 18-36 months. More recently, McCall (1972) has reported similar instability with Fels data, and Lewis (1972) reports stability correlations between -.25 and .54 on the Bayley Mental Scale (median r = .26) between 3 to 24 months of age (N=20).

Most important, our currently existing infant measures of sensorimotor intelligence which emphasize a Piagetian developmental framework show similar patterns of instability and frequently do not relate to psychometric measures at any age. Lewis (1972), for example, found the intercorrelations of the Escalona-Corman scales to range between -.13 to .48 over the same period of 3-24 months, with a median r of .07. These scales were significantly correlated with the Bayley Mental Index only at six months (.60), and did not, as did the 18 and 24 month Bayley Mental Scale, significantly correlate with an independent assessment at 24 months of language comprehension and production. Golden and Birns (1968) have reported similar results using the Cattell and the Escalona-Corman scale, obtaining a significant correlation of .24 at 12 months of age, but not at 18 or 24 months. Finally, Uzgiris (1976) reports that, of seven Piagetian-based scales, only one, The Development of Schemes has an apparent role of positive effect and motivation in evaluations of infant intelligence.

Birns and Golden (1972) have reported that ratings of Cattell test taking behaviors at 24 months related significantly to Binet scores at 36 months (N = 89 black infants from varying SES strata), even when second year Cattell scores were partialled out. The correlations for rated "Pleasure in Task" and "Cooperation" were respectively .43 ($p \leq .005$) and .26 ($p < .05$). They argue that " . . . while there may be discontinuity between perceptual-motor development and later problem-solving ability on the verbal level . . . there may be continuity in terms of certain personality traits related to both preverbal and verbal intelligence" (p. 57). In their view this apparent "pleasure" precedes, rather than follows, successful problem-solving; it is a view also held by Levenstein (1970) and Yarrow (1976), and is linked by all authors to the intrinsic motivation for adaptive behavior characteristic of developing organisms.

A similar, but important, perspective is offered by Haviland (1976), who believes that infant intelligence tests often demand clinical judgments of affect by the examiner. Related points in regard to the situational aspects of infant assessment were developed by Stott and Ball (1965) and Escalona (1950) in classical writings on the subject. However, Haviland expands these points by indicating that affect may be a good predictor of later intelligence because it must be used by psychometricians to render judgments of item success or failure in the first instance. She argues that we constantly use infants' affective cues to make judgments about their ongoing adaptability and implies that, realistically, we adults have little choice in the matter when we attempt to assess the intelligent behavior of an essentially preverbal child. Since this view is consistent with our own, the discussion of our procedures and results will also be guided by attention to how the social relationship between our children and the psychometricians may have influenced infant behavioral outcomes. Particular attention is given to age-related personality processes as these have interacted with the demands of the assessment situation.

Despite the obvious ambiguity as to the underlying processes associated with continued ability to perform successfully on tests of sensorimotor intelligence, there does appear to be consistent agreement that early on these tests primarily measure aspects of psychomotor functioning, while later (beyond 18 months) they also begin to measure emergent language skills. Thus, our earliest assessment on the Cattell at approximately 22 months indexed primarily fine perceptual-motor skills, while later assessments at approximately 32 and 41 months are thought to primarily assess emergent language skills (verbal comprehension and production). By 30-36 months most infant tests are heavily language-based. At the 03 time period of our study, we shifted to the McCarthy scales to permit diverse assessment of multiple skills at approximately 41 months of age. Throughout the 01 to 02 time periods, the use of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary test related to verbal comprehension.

It is known that social class differences in infant test performance emerge somewhere between the second and third year of life, and it is also believed that this is because of the increased importance of the differentiated role of language in the tests themselves during this period (Golden and Birns, 1976). For example, while social class differences in infant test behaviors are typically not observed before age two, differences in how mothers and infants from different social class strata use language as a communicative act can be observed well before age two, as well as how their infants respond to language. Typically, middle class infants are more responsive to maternal vocalizations, quieting during such times, and then vocalizing when mother does not talk. Thus, as early as three months (Lewis and Freedle, 1973) there is evidence of a process of "turn-taking" between white middle class mothers and their infants which is not evident between lower class mothers and their infants. Middle class mothers of three- and ten-month-olds have also been observed to be more verbally responsive (Lewis and Wilson, 1972; Tulkin and Kagan, 1972) with their babies. They are more likely to respond to a vocalization with another one. There is, however, no clear evidence that middle class mothers talk more overall to their infants than do lower class mothers.

While existing infant tests vary across the sensorimotor period in their emphasis on language functions, it appears that from birth onward the early precursors of the communicative act can be observed between child and mother, and that individual differences in styles of communication are evolving which are related to social class positioning of the families. Recent research (Bloom, 1973; Nelson, 1973) has made this even more apparent since individual differences are noted in the first fifty words used by young children, differences which have been linked in a preliminary way by at least one author (Nelson, 1973) to differences in maternal parenting style. While we cannot posit a "critical period" for development of the language function at this time, we can state that the first three years of life, particularly the second and third years, constitute a highly sensitive period and that parents differ by social class positioning in their responsitivity to this period and to this aspect of their infant's development.

Hypothesis and Questions

One major hypothesis, dictated by earlier literature in this field, related directly to infant test outcomes:

> Children of participating mothers will demonstrate a greater overall intellectual gain over a two-year period than children of non-participating mothers; the gain will be primarily a function of greater decoding skills, relative to verbal expression of thoughts and general word fluency.

Essentially, this hypothesis predicts that program children will be more advanced by comparison to control children at the end of year two of the programs in overall IQ score, and that this superiority will be due to a superiority in verbal production in contrast to other abilities. We expected Toy Demonstration children to be significantly more advanced than both of the other groups of children at time 02, but that by time 03 Discussion group children would also be significantly superior to Control children. We did not predict differences between the groups in language comprehension.

Measures and Procedures

A. Measures

The measures of infant intelligence used were the Cattell Infant Scale administered at times 01 and 02, the McCarthy Scales of Mental Abilities administered at time 03, and the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test administered at times 01, 02, and 03. Both the Cattell and the Peabody had been used in previous intervention research. Levenstein has used the Cattell, followed by the Binet and, initially, we anticipated a similar testing program since the Cattell is frequently viewed as a downward extension of the Binet. In fact, Binet items are interspersed into the Cattell between 22 and 30 months. However, during the study we decided to use the McCarthy instead of the Binet at the 03 time point because of our increased sensitivity to the need for an assessment commensurate with the differential development of children's abilities at these ages.

1. Cattell Infant Intelligence Scale

The first publication of this widely used test for infants between the ages of 3 and 30 months was made in 1940 (Cattell, 1940). Influenced by the Gesell tests, a major goal of its developers was to introduce items which could be objectively scored and which would be of pleasurable interest to all young children so as to better differentiate among them as to their abilities. In addition, consistent with the deterministic view of intelligence which prevailed during that era (Kamin, 1975), the developers wished to use items which were minimally, if at all, impacted by "home training."

The standardization sample children (N = 274, ages 3-36 months) were white, of predominantly "North European stock" (a requirement of the developers), and of essentially middle class backgrounds. They participated in a Harvard clinic which charged $50 for enrollment. Most of their fathers had permanent jobs as policemen, clerks, storekeepers, etc.

Cattell reported split-half reliability coefficients between the ages of 18-30 months of .71 to .90. He also reported predictive validity correlations with the Binet at 36 months for similar earlier ages between .67 and .75. No stability correlations were reported.

Golden and Birns (1967) have reported the only normative data on black children currently available. Using a sample of 186 children of a New York Well Baby Clinic from three social class groupings at 12, 18, and 24 months of age, they reported mean Cattell IQ scores for each class/age subset available to them. Class A (families on welfare) had mean IQ scores of 111.3, 108.1, and 98.5, respectively, at these ages. Class B (both parents never employed at other than unskilled or semi-skilled occupations, and having no more than high school educations) had IQ scores of 112.1, 110.0, and 99.7. Finally Class C (either mother or father had schooling beyond high school and/or employment at skilled or professional occupations) had IQ scores of 107.9, 109.4, and 99.7. Except for one group in Class B where the sample size was 26, sample sizes in each group were 20. No significant social class differences in test performance were found, but the lower status children were reported to be more difficult to engage in the testing session; mothers were present during the testing. Race of the examiner was not reported.

In a follow-up article, Birns and Golden (1972) reported respective correlations of .13 and .60 between the 18 month and 24 month Cattell and the Binet at 36 months (N = 89).

2. Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test

Somewhat less information was available to us on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, an instrument used widely in early intervention research, and used by Levenstein in an evaluation of the Toy Demonstration program.

The Peabody seems, on face value, to be essentially a test of selected word knowledge, as these words may be applied progressively first to concrete phenomena represented in pictures, and later to more abstract concepts also represented by pictures. Words also become increasingly removed from everyday experience as the test progresses, since it is designed for use with children and adolescents ranging in age from two years, six months to eighteen years of age. Children in our age range had to respond to very concrete descriptive words such as identifying objects (e.g., animals, persons, parts of persons, including clothing as well as body parts) or actions (e.g., body movements or typical adult activities which might be observed)named by the examiner in order to obtain an average or above average score. Because the child has only to listen to a word produced by the examiner, and then point to the one picture, of four presented simultaneously, which best represents that word, the PPVT is often identified as a measure of receptive language (verbal comprehension). No verbal production is required for a child to perform well on this instrument.

The PPVT was normed at 4,012 white children and adolescents from Nashville between the ages of 30 months and 18 years in 1958. At ages 2-6, 3-0, 3-6, and 4-0 years sample sizes were 92, 92, 119, and 110 respectively. Alternate form reliabilities reported for these ages are .72, .77, .81, and .75. Validity correlations with the Binet, using raw mental age scores, are reported to be between .60 and .87, with a median r of .71. However, the author of the 1965 Expanded Manual states:

> Here, as in all the statistical validity data, the lowest correlations are found when IQ scores of a restricted group of subjects on the intellectual continuum were used, and highest values were obtained when MA scores were used for children over a wide age range, across the full spectrum on intellect. What is needed are data on correlations of PPVT and Binet IQ scores by age levels for subjects falling across the full intelligence range (p. 33).

At the 01 testing with this instrument, we could not always set basals on our children; the average age of 22 months was considerably below 30 months (2-6 years). Instead of setting a basal (8 consecutive correct responses), we discontinued the test whenever the child reached a ceiling (6 errors in eight consecutive responses) and used the resultant raw score (ceiling less errors) as the basis for further calculations.

3. McCarthy Scales of Mental Abilities

This test provides a General Cognitive Index (GCI) or IQ scores, as well as standardized information on the differential abilities of children, ages 1½ to 8½. The five subscales of the test are: Verbal, Quantitative, Perceptual-Performance, Memory, and Motor Development.[4]

The first publication of this test was in 1972. Thus, by comparison to the Cattell and PPVT, it is relatively recently normed. The standardization sample of about 100 children at each age level,2½ to 8½ years, with equivalents for the GCO extending from ages 16 months to 12 years, 6 months, included white and nonwhite (about 16%) children (154 of the 170 nonwhites were black) from varied social strata (father's occupation as primary criterion) and regional backgrounds.

Split-half reliabilities range from .91 to .96 in the ages from 2½ to 4½ years on the GCI, and comparable reliabilities are reported for each of the five subscales of each level (Ns range from 100-104 across age levels).

A number of publications have positively reviewed this instrument, and several have used black populations. However, to our knowledge, with the exceptions to be reported below, this age group of black infants (mean = 41 months) is among the youngest to which the McCarthy Scales have been administered.

The important exceptions appear to be a series of studies by Kaufman and Kaufman (1973, 1975a, 1975b). They report studies with black and white children using data from the full age ranges of the original standardization sample. On the McCarthy, no significant IQ differences are reported between blacks and whites between ages 2½ to 5½ years. Separate factor analyses performed on black (N =124) and white (N = 688) children, ages 3.0 to 7.6 years, yielded similar results.

Social status differences are significant and in favor of children of higher status families ($p < .01$). In the study (1975b) which contrasted social status and race, the authors reported differences between working class blacks and white, in favor of whites; conversely, no differences were found between middle class blacks and whites. Social status groupings and IQs for blacks and whites were, respectively, (a) Professional and Technical occupation of father: blacks 105.4 (N = 11), whites 109 (N = 145); (b) Managerial and Clerical Sales: blacks 99.9 (29), whites 102.8 (232); (c) Skilled workers: blacks 97.8 (25), whites 99.8 (213); (d) Semi-skilled workers; blacks 88.2 (62), whites 98.2 (234); (e) Unskilled workers: blacks 89.9 (27), whites 94.7 (38). Categories (a) - (c) were defined as middle class, while categories (d) - (e) were defined as working class. This same pattern of differences was also found with the five subscales. However, no data on the exact ages of the children in each subsample were provided.

B. Procedures

1. Sample Selection

Sample selection followed a similar format at each housing project site. At each site, nine target areas were identified according to degree of proximity to the base offices of United Charities' Family Service Bureau, and the internal organizational character of the building units in that site. About one-third of the participants in each of the three programs were recruited by representatives of each of the three treatment conditions from their individual target areas. These target areas were randomly chosen. We had assurances from the Chicago Housing Authority that the buildings did not contain marked differences among residents.

Each mother was offered the opportunity to participate in only one group. We believed that it would be less confusing to parents, and less threatening if we randomized by target area, rather than by subject.

The first child test assessment was completed about three months after programs began: February 15, 1975; the second was conducted between 1/23/75-9/17/75; the third between 5/6/76-6/30/76. Programs officially ended 6/1/76.

At the first testing, children at all sites in all groups ranged in age from 20.3 to 24.2 months. At the second, they ranged from 30.2 to 33.0 months. At the third, they ranged from 40.4 to 42.5 months.

2. Assessment Procedures

The psychometricians are black females who had at least a B.A. degree in psychology or education. All had prior experience working in day care centers or nurseries as teachers. Their ages ranged from 23 to 37 years. All participated in an organized training program developed and conducted by supervisory staff. Several pilot testings were part of the four-week program.

Testing of study children was conducted at their housing site in a specially prepared room for this purpose. We hoped to maximize the child's and mother's familiarity and comfort in a new situation by evaluating in a room and location similar to that in which they lived. Special (round, wooden, low height) child resting tables were constructed by project staff for use by child and examiner. The mother of the child, but no other person, was to be present at each testing. At the beginning, background information for both test booklets was obtained from the mother. Then she was instructed to sit to the side, slightly to the rear of the child and observe, but not actively participate, during the session. Each mother was told to expect that, because each test covers a wide age range, there would be some items her young child could not do. We believed the proximity of their mothers would be especially important for the security of children in our age ranges, but we also wanted to anticipate and assuage some of the mothers' anxieties about how their children would perform.

During the first and second time periods, the Cattell was administered first, followed by the PPVT (Form A at 01 and 03 assessments; Form B at the 02 assessment). We attempted to emphasize the "game-like" quality of the tests, but each test was strictly administered according to guidelines developed in the test manual. During the third time period, the PPVT was administered first because of the length of the McCarthy. We wished to overcome the impact of fatigue on PPVT performance, and hoped that children were, by that time, more comfortable with the PPVT's "question-answer" format.

At the second and third assessments, testers completed one of two paragraph behavior profiles immediately following each child's session. These profiles were to include:

1) a brief statement of how responsive the child seemed to be to the examiner at the start of the testing, how willingly he entered into the testing room, and so forth;

2) a brief statement as to how the child performed on each test, as well as how he behaved over time during the course of the examination, noting strengths and weaknesses;

3) a brief statement about the mother's behavior during the examination, as well as any pertinent questions or comments about the testing which she addressed to the examiner.

4) a brief statement, using (3) above as a guide, for the child.

Testing in the first and second sessions took about 30-40 minutes per child, but up to 60 minutes at the third session.

Results

Initially, there were 41, 53, and 38 participants in the Toy Demonstration, Discussion, and Control Groups respectively, for a total N = 132. Attrition occurred during and at the end of the first program year, rarely in the second year. Of 49 attrited subjects, 26 left in 8/75 following the conclusion of year one; 13 of the 26 were Discussion group participants; the total number of attrited cases for the Toy Demonstration, Discussion, and Control groups were, respectively, 15, 27, and 5 (=39.7 per cent). The final base sample is 83, 26 in the Toy Demonstration Group, 26 in the Discussion Group, and 31 in the Control group.

Table 1 presents some important background data on the participants in the three groups. Groups did not differ statistically on maternal or child age at testing or maternal years of education. Groups also did not differ in children's average birth order or age in months at the onset of

Table 1

Comparative Social Background Data on Mothers and Children by Program Group (Percentages)*

	Program Group		
Variable	Toy Demonstration (n = 26-25)	Mothers Discussion (n = 26-22)	Controls (n = 29-31)
1. No Current Work Experience	92.0	100.0	96.8
2. No Past Work Experience prior to Child's Birth	20.0	40.0	43.4
3. Previous Full-Time Work Experience	36.0	37.5	24.1
4. Primary Family Income = AFDC	88.5	96.0	93.3
5. No Secondary Income Reported	80.8	96.0	83.3
6. Maternal Health Perceived Below Average	24.0	18.2	20.0
7. Never Apart from Child for More than One Week	65.4	69.6	73.3
8. Contact with Child's Natural Father is Maintained	80.8	58.3	32.3
9. No Adult Males in Household (over age 17)	26.9	48.0	38.7
10. Only One Adult Female in Household (over age 17)	50.0	64.0	35.5

*The average ages of mothers at the time of maternal interviews (7/1/75) were, respectively 24.8±8 (Toy Demonstration, 26.9±9 (Discussion group), and 23.7±6 (Controls).

The average years of maternal education were, respectively 11.0±2 (Toy Demonstration, 10.6±1 (Discussion group), and 10.5±2 (Controls).

the programs. However, Control mothers did tend to be younger than mothers in the other groups, had a somewhat greater number of other adults in their homes, and earlier born children in the programs. While they did not have significantly more children than other program mothers, there were significantly more children in their households, presumably children of other relatives.

In all but four reported instances, the natural mother of the child participated in the programs. In these special instances, the "mothers" were actually grandmothers.

Table 2 presents comparative data between the main study children and those who attrited after the first assessment. The children who remained in the program do not, as a group, differ significantly from those who left, on either the Cattell Mental Age or the Cattell IQ. Fewer children completed the PPVT at the first testing, due to age constraints on the appropriateness of this instrument. However, again there are no significant differences between those who stayed and those who left on either the PPVT Mental Age or the PPVT IQ.

Table 2

Comparison of Program Stays on Drops on 01 Measures of Child Intellectual Functioning

Test	Program Status	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Sum of Squares	Df	F	t
Cattell Mental Age	Stayed in	83	24.89	3.47	B: 12.633	1,127	1.1741	1.0836
(01 test)	Dropped out	46	24.24	2.91	W: 1,366.430			
Cattell I.Q.	Stayed in	83	110.98	12.23	B: 30.875	1,127	0.2352	0.4850
	Dropped out	46	109.96	9.90	W: 16,668.125			
PPVT Mental Age	Stayed in	72	22.49	3.41	B: 7.113	1,107	0.6772	0.8229
(01 test)	Dropped out	37	21.95	2.88	W: 1,123.906			
PPVT I.Q.	Stayed in	74	99.08	12.10	B: 1.000	1,109	0.0065	0.0809
	Dropped out	37	99.22	12.90	W: 16,672.000			

One way ANOVA, fixed effect model

Table 2 also indicates an eleven point discrepancy between Cattell IQ and PPVT IQ scores. This discrepancy could not, we found, be attributed to either the recency of norms generated by the PPVT or the shift in sample sizes. For example, at a later age, the children performed better on the McCarthy, than the PPVT, though the McCarthy is the most recently normed of all three tests. Rather, the two tests probably measure diverging child abilities at this age, notably perceptual-motor versus receptive language skills.

Significant mean differences, favoring the program groups, in contrast to control, were obtained ($p \leq .05$) on the McCarthy IQ at the end of the study (Ns = 21, 15, 21 respectively, in the Demonstration, Discussion, and Control groups). No differences were observed at any other assessment period or with any other instrument except the first administration of the PPVT. Program groups were initially superior to controls on this measure at the first assessment ($p \leq .05$); over time this difference was not sustained. However, two-way analyses of variance, using group and housing site as independent variables (N=56) and the McCarthy IQ as the dependent variable resulted in nonsignificant main effects and interactions. When the McCarthy Verbal Subscale was used as the dependent variable in a similar analysis, we obtained a significant main effect for group $F = 3.452$, $p = .040$), but not for site ($F = 0.905$, $p = .411$), and interactions were nonsignificant ($F = 1.560$, $p = .201$). Clearly, the initial superiority of program to control groups on the McCarthy IQ is predicated upon this one, of five possible, subscale. No differences between groups were observed on any other subscale. Figure 1 graphically presents these data. However, the primary subject of this paper is the longitudinal assessment of the children.

We found evidence of a significant linear decline in both test sequences, the alternate form administrations of the PPVT, and the Cattell-McCarthy sequence. When we observed the effects of program, site, and Time on the PPVT, using a repeated measures analysis, we found a highly significant effect for time ($F = 83.96$, $p < .001$), and a moderately, by comparison, significant effect for site x time ($F = 2.942$, $p < .025$). We did not

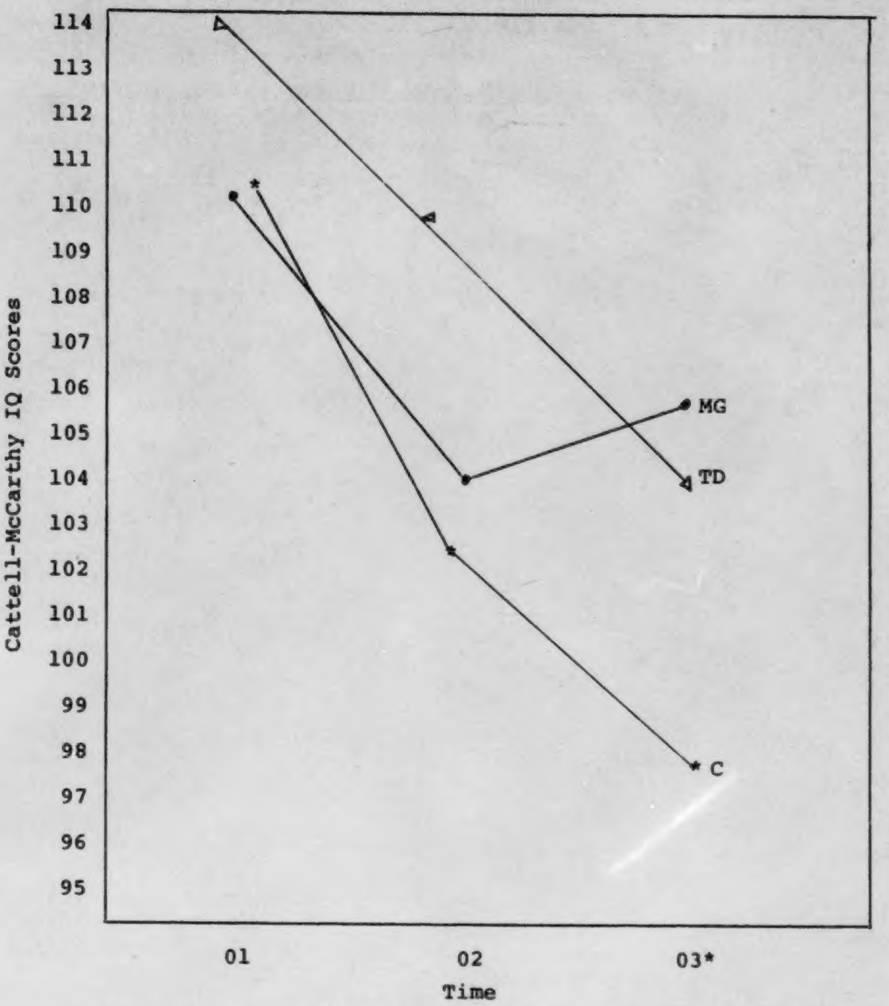

Figure 1. Profile of Average Infant Test Scores (Cattell-McCarthy) by Program Group

TD = Toy Demonstration
MG = Mothers Discussion Group
C = Control Group
* McCarthy Test

perform similar analyses on the Cattell-McCarthy sequence. We could not argue strict comparability between the Cattell and the McCarthy and some writers (e.g., Achenbach, 1978) question whether a repeated measures design should be applied when there are only two data points (i.e., Cattell 01 and Cattell 02). However, as noted by Figure 1, the results appear similar. Specifically, with advancing chronological age many of the children, particularly control children, did not advance according to existing mental age norms on these instruments.

Table 3 presents the descriptive data for all children at each assessment point, using all children tested (ATSs) and the children for whom we have complete data in either of the two test sequences (CDSs). Generally, results are comparable for the two groups of children (ATSs and CDSs). Most importantly, somewhere between 22 and 41 months of age, these black children lost ground, by comparison to existing norms. Those whose mothers were involved in our parent programs did not lose as much.

Table 3

Descriptive Child Test Date by Program Group Using All Tested Ss (ATSs) and Ss with Complete Data (CDSs)

Test (Time)		Toy Demonstration		Mothers Discussion		Control	
		ATSs	CDSs	ATSs	CDSs	ATSs	CDSs
Cattell (01)	$\bar{x}$	112.96	114.3	110.08	110.9	110.06	109.7
	s.d.	14.13	14.00	9.20	9.55	12.92	11.47
	n	(26)	(21)	(26)	(15)	(31)	(21)
PPVT (01)	$\bar{x}$	101.83	102.0	101.7	101.9	94.4	94.4
	s.d.	12.74	12.60	9.80	9.74	12.26	11.78
	n	(27)	(20)	(23)	(15)	(27)	(20)
Cattell (02)	$\bar{x}$	108.08	109.6	104.55	104.0	103.21	102.0
	s.d.	9.79	10.23	10.34	10.64	10.54	10.98
	n	(26)	(21)	(22)	(15)	(28)	(21)
PPVT (02)	$\bar{x}$	90.58	91.4	89.24	91.7	83.9	84.0
	s.d	10.08	11.28	12.72	12.99	9.42	8.41
	n	(26)	(20)	(21)	(15)	(30)	(20)
McCarthy (03)	$\bar{x}$	104.14	104.1	100.79	105.6	95.62	96.5
	s.d.	12.76	12.76	18.16	14.01	12.14	12.06
	n	(21)	(21)	(19)	(15)	(24)	(21)
PPVT (03)	$\bar{x}$	77.5	76.5	75.47	77.2	73.67	74.6
	s.d.	10.47	10.10	7.96	7.80	9.56	8.81
	n	(22)	(20)	(19)	(15)	(24)	(20)

Table 4 presents the stability correlations over time for all measures used on all children (ATSs). Most striking is the tendency for measures given at any one assessment session to be either more or as highly correlated with each other as the same measure given at a subsequent session. For example, Cattell 01 correlates .50 with PPVT 01, but .30 with Cattell 02, while PPVT 01 correlates .30 with PPVT 02. PPVT 02 correlates .39 with Cattell 02, and .40 with PPVT 03. PPVT 03 correlates .41 with McCarthy IQ and .44 with the McCarthy Verbal subscale.

There is an important exception to the general rule of higher within session correlations across measures than between session correlations within measures. Cattell 01 correlates .53 with the McCarthy Motor subscale, but is not related as highly to PPVT 01 scores. This finding is certainly consistent with the view of Cattell 01 as primarily measuring perceptual-motor abilities, in contrast to the PPVT, Cattell 02, or other McCarthy subscales. These other measures appear to index aspects of emergent language abilities, whether they focus on verbal comprehension or verbal production. It is to be noted that Cattell wished to measure aspects of fine, rather than gross, perceptual-motor skills; McCarthy has emphasized precisely the opposite view in discussion of the Motor subscale.

Certainly it is not surprising that the various subscales of the McCarthy are significantly intercorrelated with each other, and with McCarthy IQ, but it is important that the highest correlation (.92) is achieved by the Verbal subscale. These results are consistent with earlier interpretations of our data. Considered together, the findings suggest that the infant's verbal responsivity to examiner requests is the most important factor associated with relative success on the PPVT, the Cattell 02, and the McCarthy. Individual variability in this responsivity can be observed and measured among infants between ages 22 to 41 months, not

Table 4

Stability Correlations of Child IQ Test Measures over Times 01-03

	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
(1) Cattell 01	.50** (74)	.37** (76)	.30** (77)	.27* (64)	.26* (64)	.14 (64)	.23 (64)	.36** (64)	.53** (64)	-.05 (65)
(2) PPVT 01		.21 (69)	.30* (71)	.10 (57)	.15 (57)	-.18 (57)	.06 (57)	.20 (57)	.24 (57)	-.05 (58)
(3) Cattell 02			.39** (73)	.45** (57)	.38** (57)	.34** (57)	.30* (57)	.34** (57)	.08 (57)	.18 (58)
(4) PPVT 02				.29* (59)	.34** (59)	.12 (59)	.15 (59)	.30* (59)	.22 (59)	.40** (60)
(5) McCarthy 03					.92** (64)	.69** (64)	.74** (64)	.78** (64)	.45** (64)	.41** (63)
(6) McCarthy Verbal 03^a						.48** (64)	.55** (64)	.84** (64)	.40** (64)	.44** (63)
(7) McCarthy Perceptual-Performance							.50** (64)	.35** (64)	.27* (64)	.38** (63
(8) McCarthy Quantitative								.51** (64)	.23* (64)	.22* (63)
(9) McCarthy Memory									.51** (64)	.28** (63)
(10) McCarthy Motor										-.00 (63)
(11) PPVT 03										

^{a}Items (6) - (10) are Subtests of the McCarthy Scales of Mental Abilities.
**$p<01$
*$p<05$

Individual differences in competence per se. We cannot, from these data, deduce that some children possess more linguistic competence than others as such; we can state that in this situation some children behaved as if they were more responsive and competent with an unfamiliar adult than others.

Samples from our 03 behavior profiles illustrate these points. Presented below are abbreviated profiles of four children: M, C, L, and S. The first two children performed better than the group average on the McCarthy, but while the first child also performed better than the group average on the PPVT, the second child did not. The last two children performed below average on the McCarthy, but while the third child performed above average on the PPVT, the fourth child did not.

1. M's Profile: McCarthy IQ=127 (High); PPVT IQ=96 (High)

Upon meeting the examiner, M was slightly shy, but warmed up rather quickly. Although he appeared to be a bit nervous initially, he became increasingly more comfortable as the testing session proceeded. He responded to questions asked of him without hesitation and was rather spontaneous in communicating with the examiner.

M was eager to begin playing with the toys and games, and entered the testing session with great anticipation. He appeared to be genuinely interested and very much involved in the tasks. From the beginning, he seemed to have no difficulty concentrating . . . and was attentive when instructions were given him. It appeared that he put his every effort into the tasks at hand, but did not become exceptionally discouraged when unable to perform a particular task. While soft-spoken, he showed special adeptness on the verbal tasks, but was fairly relaxed and quite confident on all the tasks throughout the testing session. He smiled frequently and responded favorably to the praise and support given . . .

2. C's Profile: McCarthy IQ=113 (High); PPVT IQ=68 (Low)

C entered the testing situation very friendly. He was eager to start the test.

C. did well on the numerical memory and also on the motor coordination items . . . He got off the subject quite frequently. He was verbal, but only on the subjects he wanted to talk about, not (always) pertaining to the test . .

3. L's Profile: McCarthy IQ-75 (Low); PPVT IQ=84 (High)

L was a child who was hard to "figure out." She came willingly to the test . . . and sat down and said she was ready to begin. She tired easily at many of the items, especially those above her abilities--more so than other children.

She always said she understood, but it was clear from her responses . . . that she did not know what was expected of her. Her abilities were scattered; she could name pictures well, but could not state concepts and she had perceptual and memory difficulties. Her motor coordination was good, but scattered. Her quantitative abilities were minimal.

L was pleasant and seemed willing, but was also fidgety and babbled incoherently periodically . . . .

4. S's Profile: McCarthy IQ=68 (low); PPVT IQ=60 (Low)

Upon meeting the examiner, S was friendly and, without hesitation, accompanied her to the testing area. She came willingly to the testing table and appeared to be eager to begin playing with the toys and games.

S was always so anxious to see what was to come next that she had difficulty concentrating on the tasks presently at hand . . . was quite distractible and responded actively to environmental stimuli not related to the testing session. Although she appeared to have been listening to directions, often her nonresponsiveness was indicative of her attention being elsewhere. This was particularly true on verbal tasks, while on tasks of motor skills and those requiring the manipulation of objects, her attention span increased somewhat. On many occasions, however, S did not wait for instruction, but attempted to do the tasks without them. When she could not or would not perform a task, she became silent and put her head down on the table.

Throughout the testing session, S smiled frequently and verbalized spontaneously. She looked for reassurance and praise . . . and smiled when it was given . . .

While these four children are in no sense "typical" relative to the wide diversity of styles of interaction noted by our examiners, it is clear that the social relationship with the examiner, around the tasks presented to the child, is a very important factor in determining how the child will progressively cope with the testing situation.

Discussion

We have indicated two factors which appear to be related to the testing performances of our children in the observable test situation: the emergent language skills displayed by them with an unfamiliar adult, and the social relationship, in general, between the child and the psychometrician. However, these specific and immediate factors have to be considered from the vantage points of development, early intervention, and the sociocultural context in which both occur.

There are three major findings of this study which contradict previous research and thinking. First, at all assessment points, our children were superior to existing norms for black infants on the Cattell-McCarthy sequence. This was especially true of program by comparison to control, children.

Golden and Birns (1967) found a Cattell mean IQ of 98.5 for black children of welfare families at age 24 months, with the two higher classes of black children having IQ's of 99.7. While the background of our sample, generally, is most similar to the Golden and Birns black welfare sample, we have found a mean Cattell IQ 111.6 at 22 months, and 105.2 at 32 months. Similarly, while Kaufman and Kaufman report a mean McCarthy IQ of 88.7 (N=87) for children of black unskilled workers using the McCarthy standardization sample , our average McCarthy IQ is 102.9 (N=57), roughly equivalent to that reported by these authors (1975b) for the black middle class standardization sample (IQ=101.0, N=65). Unfortunately, Kaufman and Kaufman do not present their data according to the ages of children, though we do know that at ages 2½ to 3½ blacks, as a group, average 97.4. Similarly, at ages 4 to 5½ they average 94.6.

At both the second and third assessment points only our controls appear similar to the findings of other researchers using these two instruments. In short, our program children, at ages 32 and 41 months, are superior to existing norms for their social class/racial group. In addition, they are either equivalent or superior to recent norms offered by Kaufman and Kaufman on the McCarthy for two different white socioeconomic groups (Middle class=103.9, N=590; Working class=96.4, N=272).

We attribute this evident superiority to the efforts we made to evaluate the children in environmental surroundings which are familiar to them with examiners who, though personally unknown, were of the same racial background. Clearly, also, the impact of programs on the human environments of the children was positive: program children are the most different from established norms for similar populations.

Secondly, it seems that, for those who are interested in such school-related criteria as these performance tests, our data do not support notions of deficit which require therapeutic interventions. We predicted IQ gains, as do most early intervention researchers in this field, but this prediction of gains was not developmentally sound. Like Golden and Birns (1967) who observed a similar decline on the Cattell between ages 12 and 24 months, our psychometric data was in the direction of decrement rather than increment.

Since it is known that racially black infants are more advanced in earlier infant assessments than white infants (Freedman, 1974), the function of a developmentally-based intervention model would be to ensure that children continue to thrive and develop normally, such that class-related cultural-familial retardation (Heber, 1975) does not occur. At the conclusion of our study, this was certainly generally true of program children using our Cattell-McCarthy infant tests as evaluative criteria.

However, it is also clear that all infant tests of sensorimotor intelligence are markedly discontinuous from one age period to the next, both in items used, and in regard to theoretically sound linkages to the broader concept of sensorimotor intelligence (Lewis, 1976). Our essentially negative findings with the PPVT certainly support notions of diverging emergent intellectual abilities in infancy in early childhood, if these findings are contrasted with the Cattell-McCarthy results. Thus, any early intervention program must seek multiple confirming, or, better still, substitutive criteria for effectiveness. Efforts to enhance and support development simply cannot be evaluated fairly or thoroughly on such spurious criteria.

Thirdly, despite the absolute levels of performance at any age, roughly between ages two and three and one-half years, the children declined significantly in relative performance on the standardized psychometric measures of intelligence. This finding seemingly occurred on both test sequences. It suggests that children in black homes from these communities are being socialized differently during this period from their norm-setting peers in other communities. For example, in other analyses of observational data on the children's play styles, we found Demonstration, Discussion, and Control children to use language differently during play; it was not as fruitful to characterize the three groups as having more or less of a particular attribute. Rather, the attributes combined differently. We need more such descriptive observational data on black and white children from diverse social status backgrounds from at least ages one through three and one-half years to confirm or disconfirm this hypothesis, data which developmentalists are only just beginning to accumulate. From our study, we do know that children whose mothers assimilate the posture and beliefs of contemporary child development specialists are, on the average, least likely to decline as much in their performances.

At these ages, it is not the specific content of test items that is so unique for the child; rather, it seems that transactions between the child and others may generate different behavioral repertoires. In short, how the sociocultural environment influences which intellectual competencies are used and when, how they develop, and how they are integrated during this important formative period may well be one of the most critical issues to be faced in the future by those who would consider the generation of adaptive intelligence among socially and culturally different groups of children. In our view, these issues constitute the backdrop against which behaviors with psychometricians and other outsiders vary from what is typically predictable in the examining situation, and what, ultimately, will be designated as successful performance.

Footnotes

1. A version of this paper was first presented at the Fourth Conference on Empirical Research in Black Psychology, The Third College, University of California, San Diego, January 7-9, 1979. The author is on the faculty of the School of Education, Northwestern University.

2. Most early childhood studies of this type have emphasized only child performance outcomes. Though not reported here, this study also attended to outcomes related to perceptions of childrearing and values, observational study of parent-child interaction, and parental development. We wished to determine whether early intervention in the form of parent education for childrearing would influence these outcomes; whether changes in children's behavioral outcomes would be paralleled by changes in mothers; and what would be the process by which and through which these changes occurred. At its onset, only one study had experimentally demonstrated changes in parents as children change (the PCDC Center in New Orleans, reported in a paper at the 1975 biennial meetings of the Society for Research in Child Development), and no study has linked such changes to the personal adult development of the parents. Our work was unique in these later respects.

3. The Discussion group model combined principles and procedures from the approaches to parent education of Aline Auerbach and Earladeen Badger. See those references and, especially the unpublished paper of Charlie Simpson, Coordinator of the groups, as well as the December, 1978 report by Slaughter from more detail.

4. The Verbal Scale is depicted in the Manual as measuring ". . . the child's ability to express himself verbally, and also . . . the maturity of his verbal concepts" (p. 3). The Quantitative Scale measures the child's aptitude for numbers while the Perceptual-Performance Scale measures his ability to reason (nonverbally) with materials. The Memory Scale emphasizes the child's short-term memory, while the Motor Scale emphasizes gross motor coordination. For each of the five subscales as well as the GCI, the child's raw score is converted to a scaled score or Index in accordance with his chronological age. The GCI has a mean set at 100 with a standard deviation of 16, while each of the subscales have means set at 50 with a standard deviation of 10.

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BLACK YOUTH AND HIGHER EDUCATION:

A LONGITUDINAL STUDY

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Abstract

This is a longitudinal study of black youth in postsecondary education. The subjects were 64 males and 75 females who initially were all seniors in an inner city high school. Participants were asked to complete a questionnaire asking about their attitudes, aspirations and educational expectations at the beginning of their senior year in high school. Then participants were contacted the following autumn, two years after high school, and again four years after high school to determine their educational status. Initially, 60.5% of the subjects entered some form of higher education the autumn following graduation from high school. However, only 46.7% were enrolled two years later and 14.7% four years later.

A discriminant analysis showed that educational aspirations, expectancy of admission into college, occupational aspirations, sense of control over academic outcomes, perceived ability to complete the college application process, and mother's educational expectancy were all predictors of initial participation in postsecondary education. Among those who initially participated in higher education, those who stayed enrolled for at least two years had higher occupational aspirations and sensed more control over their general outcomes than those who withdrew.

A discussion of the implications of the findings especially for black student retention as well as the implications for high school counselors, teachers, and parents is included.

During the last decade, great strides have been made in the enrollment of black youth into the nation's colleges and universities. Despite these gains, at least two concerns remain. First, the enrollment of black youth has not yet achieved parity with that of white youth (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1978). Therefore it is likely that some blacks who have the potential and desire to continue their education beyond high school are still not doing so. A second concern is the retention rate among those black youth who do enroll in college. More than half (59%) of the black college students leave before graduating compared to 43% of the white students (Chronicle of Higher Education, 1975).

The present study is a longitudinal observation of black youth that begins with the senior year in high school and extends over the four-year period immediately following high school graduation. In general, the focus of the study is on entrance and retention in higher education. Specifically, the following questions will be addressed:

(1) who enters higher education and who does not?

(2) who stays in higher education and who withdraws? What are the characteristics that distinguish those who begin postsecondary education and stay versus those who enter but withdraw?

A fair amount of research about black youth and educational achievement has been conducted during recent years. However, one could argue that much of the research has three biases. One bias in that research is that many of these studies have used grade point average or other performance indicators as the criteria (Epps, 1969; DiCesare, et al., 1972; Hayes & Franks, 1975; Jorgenson, 1978; Rosenthal & Jacobsen, 1968a). Obviously, in studying college students, this approach would exclude those who leave and, therefore, would do little to increase our understanding of college attrition rates. Thus, a more appropriate indicator for college students might be retention. The present study is extending past research by investigating whether the same variables that the literature suggests predict performance also predict who will enter and stay versus who will enter and withdraw.

A related bias of past research on predicting academic success among black youth is that it has focused upon identifying academic predictors of performance such as high school GPA, SAT scores, and scores on other standard tests (Stanley, 1971; Thomas and Stanley, 1969). A number of researchers (Clark and Plotkin, 1964; Green & Farquhar, 1965; Cleary, 1968; Pfeifer & Sedlacek, 1970, 1971, 1974) have found that these standard academic measures do not predict the achievement among black college students as well as they predict achievement among white college students. This evidence led Sedlacek (1974) to argue that our understanding of black youth and higher education can be enhanced by also examining nonacademic predictions of academic success. Thus, the present study sought to identify nonacademic predictors of educational attainment.

Those who have studied non-academic predictors of academic performance have produced evidence that aspirations (Franklin, 1963; Epps, 1969), expectations (Epps, 1969) self-concept of ability (Epps,1969; Brookover, 1967), sense of control over outcomes (Franklin, 1970), and others' expectations for them (Rosenthal & Jacobsen, 1968b) are related to academic performance. Also, there is evidence in addition to the research on the academic performance that individuals are more likely to perform if they think that their skills in areas related to the task are good than if they think their skills are not so good (Feather, 1968).

A third bias in the research is that those studies that have investigated variables related to academic achievement have mainly focused on the effects of characteristics that the students have at the same time their academic performance is being measured. Another, equally justifiable, approach is to examine the effects of perceptions that black youth have as they anticipate college and, thus, take to college with them. This approach may help us both to understand why some students do not enter and, also, to understand better the attitudes that those who do enter take to college with them. This approach allows us to answer different questions about retention than data collected after entrance, because of the likelihood that students change their attitudes, perceptions, etc., in accordance with their initial experience in higher education. The present study examines the attitudes, perceptions, and other non-academic indicators that students had in high school as predictors of later educational attainment.

Methods

Subjects

The subjects were 140 black youth who were seniors in an inner city high school at the beginning of the study. 64 males and 75 females were included in the sample (one subject left this item blank).

Procedure

The subjects were asked to complete the initial questionnaire as part of another study involving the evaluation of counseling programs for black high school seniors (Burlew, 1979). However, students completed the questionnaire at the beginning of the school year prior to any of the activities of the counseling program.

The questionnaire was administered in small groups of approximately 15 students. The questionnaire was introduced as a set of questions concerning issues facing Blacks today.

The next autumn, students were contacted by mail and asked to complete a short form indicating their immediate plans. Those who did not respond were contacted by telephone to determine their plans. 119 subjects were able to be contacted by one of the two methods.

Two years after graduation, subjects were again contacted by mail and asked to complete a short form indicating their educational status. This time, as an incentive to respond, subjects were informed that their names would be included in a raffle if they responded and that there would be monetary prizes for two second-place winners and one first-place winner. Subjects who did not respond received a second letter, and if needed, a follow-up telephone interview. This time, 97 subjects were contacted by one of these methods. All respondents received an announcement of who had won the raffle.

Four years after graduation, subjects were again contacted by mail. A raffle was also included in this phase, and again, an effort was made to interview non-respondents by phone. In addition, three college students who had been members of that graduating class were research assistants and had the responsibility of contacting class members. Eighty-eight were able to be contacted during this phase.

Measures

The questionnaire included several already existing measures as well as measures designed especially for this study. All new measures were pretested for clarity. The Educational Expectation measure by Epps (1969) was used to determine the general educational expectancy. This one-item measure asked subjects to indicate the education they expect to attain. The eight alternatives ranged from "I think I will quit school as soon as I can" to "I think I will graduate from college and go on to graduate school." In addition, subjects were asked to indicate both their expectancies of college admission and success. The possible responses included no chance at all, slight chance, good chance, and very good chance.

Two scales were included to measure the sense of personal control. The Gurin modification of the Rotter scale contains four factors (Gurin, et al., 1969). Only two of these factors were used here. This included the personal control factor and the control ideology factor. The Intellectual Achievement Responsibility Scale (IAR) developed by Crandall, et al., (1965) was used to measure sense of control over academic outcomes. The IAR scale includes two subsets--sense of control over academic successes and sense of control over failures.

To measure students' assessment of their academic and application skills, students were asked to evaluate their own test-taking skills as well as their skills for completing college applications. The possible responses were very poor, improvement needed, average, above average and very good.

Educational aspirations were measured using the same format as the educational expectation measure. However, the educational expectation measure asked students to indicate how far they expected to continue their education while the educational aspiration measure asked students to indicate how far they would like to continue their education if they could continue their education as far as they liked. Students were also asked to indicate the occupation they planned to pursue. These occupations were also given a prestige rating according to the Duncan NORC Prestige Index.

Finally, subjects were asked to estimate the amount of education their mothers expected them to acquire. Responses here also varied from "quit right now" to "graduate from college and then go on to graduate school."

Data Analysis

Some data being presented here on what actually happened to the students is descriptive in nature. However, discriminant analysis was used to test the hypothesis that a set of variables accurately predicts who would be and who would not be in school the following autumn and two years later.[1] A separate analysis of the change in Rao's V for each independent variable in the set tested whether that particular variable contributed to the model's predictive capability. There were two dependent variables in this analysis. These included whether the individual was or was not involved in postsecondary education the next autumn after graduation from high school and, again two years later. The discriminant analyses for each of these independent variables was done separately. The independent variables were those attitudes, expectations, and perceptions expressed by the individual students during their senior year in high school.

Results

The autumn after high school, 72 (60.5%) actually participated in some form of postsecondary education and 47 (39.5%) did not. 21 could not be located to determine their status.

Table 1

Participation in Postsecondary Education
Immediately After High School

			N	%
I. Did not participate in postsecondary education			47	39.5
II. Participated in postsecondary education			72	60.5
	N	%		
a. On-the-job training	1	1.4		
b. Skills training program or school	2	2.8		
c. Two-year college	24	33.3		
d. Four-year college or university	45	62.5		
	72	100.0		
			119	100.0%

Predictors of Immediate Entry

The set of variables that best predicted who would be and who would not be involved in higher education the autumn following graduation included the following variables: educational aspirations, expectancy of admission into college, occupational aspirations, sense of control over academic outcomes, perceived ability to complete college application process, mother's educational expectancy, and perception of test-taking skills. This set significantly distinguished between those who did and did not enter higher education the following autumn (Wilks Lambda = .59, F = 7.53, df = 7.79, p = .001). 78.16% of the subjects were accurately classified as in or out of school by this set. The subsequent Rao's V analyses indicated that six of the variables actually contributed to the predictive powers of the set. Those students who went on to school aspired to continue their education further (change in Rao's V = 24.16, df = 1, p = .001), expected to be admitted into college (change in Rao's V = 4.05, df = 1, p = .04), and aspired for more prestigious jobs than those who did not go on (change in Rao's V = 4.84, df = 1, p = .028). Those who went on felt more control over their academic outcomes than those who did not. However, the two groups differed only on their willingness to accept responsibility for their failures (change in Rao's V = 6.83, df = 1, p = .009) but not their successes. Those who went on were also more confident of their skills for completing the college application process than those who did not (change in Rao's V = 5.81, df = 1, p = .016). Those who went on also perceived that their mothers expected them to attain more education than those who did not (change in Rao's V = 8.48, df = 1, p = .004). The two groups did not differ on their perceptions of their test-taking skills (p = .115).

Enrollment after two and four years

97 from the original group could be located after two years. 46.7% of these individuals were in school after two years.

Table 2

Enrollment After Two Years

	N	%
In school	44	46.7
Not in school	53	53.3
	97	100.0%

88 students could be located after four years. Of these, only 14.7% were still in school:

Table 3

Enrollment After Four Years

	N	%
Enrolled in school	13	14.7
Not enrolled in school	75	85.3
	88	100.00%

What happened to those who went?

55 of those 72 who initially went on to school could be contacted after two years to determine their educational status. 61.8% were still in school.

Table 4

Enrollment Among Initial Entrants
After Two Years

	N	%
Still enrolled	34	61.8
No longer enrolled	21	38.2
	53	100.0%

53 of those 72 who initially went on to higher education could be located after four years. Of these, only 18.9% were still enrolled.

Table 5

Enrollment Among Initial Entrants
After Four Years

	N	%
Still enrolled	10	18.9
No longer enrolled	43	81.1
	53	100.0%

Predictors of Retention

The set of variables that best predicted who, among those who entered some form of higher education immediately after high school, would and would not still be enrolled two years later included educational aspirations, occupational aspirations and personal control. This set significantly distinguished between those who were and were not still enrolled in school (Wilks Lambda = .7039, F = 6.02, df = 3.43, p = .0016). 70% of the students could be correctly classified using this set as predictors. Further analyses suggested that two of these variables contributed significantly to the predictability of the model but a third did not. Those who were in school after two years had higher occupational aspirations (change in Rao's V = 9.173, df = 1, p = .002), and also sensed more control over their outcomes (change in Rao's V = 8.018, df = 1, p. = .004). It should be noted that students who were and were not still in school differed only on the personal control items of the Rotter scale but not on the control ideology items. The two groups did not differ on educational aspirations (p = .1875).

No discriminant analysis was done to determine the predictors of who would still be in school four years later because of the small number still enrolled.

Discussion

The findings generally support the three broad predictions mentioned at the beginning of this article. First, the findings suggest that some of the factors that predict academic performance also predict educational attainment and retention in postsecondary education. Furthermore, the study provides evidence that the characteristics of Black youth during their high school years predict later educational attainment. Finally, the findings also support the point of view that non-academic indicators can be used to predict educational attainment among black youth.

60.5% of the black students in the study actually did enter some form of higher education. This supports other evidence that black youth are entering postsecondary education in increasing numbers. First, although our data supports other data suggesting that Black students are increasingly enrolling in colleges and universities, almost two-fifths of those who initially enrolled were no longer in school two years later and very few were still enrolled after four years. This finding supports the earlier assertion that retention continues to remain a serious problem among Black youth.

The need for more research on retention is an obvious conclusion of this study. Some researchers have already begun to examine barriers that Black students experience in the transition from high school to college. Elkind (1971) argues that Black students experience several discontinuities between high school and college including the absence of social promotions in college as in some high schools and that the high school culture at least in inner-city schools,as the school in this study, may have been dominated by Black majority but the white college is dominated by the culture of the white majority. Others have suggested that financial pressures (Westbrook, et al., 1978), poor study habits (Westbrook, et al., 1978), mistrust between faculty and students (Willie & McCord, 1972), the lack of opportunities for involvement in campus activities (Centra, 1978), and marginal involvement in dating and social life (Centra, 1970) all interfere with the progress of the black student in college.

A set of nonacademic measures ended by predicting entrance and retention in postsecondary education. This finding offers further support to the theory of Sedlacek (1974) that nonacademic indicators such as attitudes and perceptions may be more important predictors of educational outcomes for black youth than traditional academic predictors.

The nonacademic predictors that turned out to be important in this study can be grouped into three categories including aspirations and expectations, self-perceptions, and others' perceptions. Some of the variables were predictors of entrance but not retention. In these cases, the findings should not be interpreted to mean that these variables are not also important for retention. Rather, the analysis plan was such that only those who initially entered were included in the analyses on retention. This approach leads to a homogeneous group on certain characteristics, e.g., aspirations and, thus, no initial differences were found between those who stayed and those who did not because members of both groups possessed those characteristics common to those entering. Sometimes, however, variables were both predictors of entrance and retention. In these cases, although those who stayed and those who dropped out were more similar to each other than to those who did not go at all, there must have been enough differences between those who entered and stayed and those who entered and dropped out to further subdivide them.

Apparently, one important element in participation in postsecondary education is to aspire to continue one's education further and to want a prestigious job. Students with high educational and occupational aspirations were more likely to continue their education than those with low aspirations. This evidence suggests the need to explore further the socialization of aspirations. Many who have examined aspirations have treated them as the byproducts of some cultural transmission of values. However, it is plausible that youth change their aspirations as they are exposed to new alternatives. If so, this suggests that aspirations are simply a reflection of the exposure or lack of exposure of youth to certain alternatives. This latter idea would argue for the increased exposure of black youth to higher educational and prestigious job settings so that they might consider these as viable alternatives when making decisions about education and career.

Educational aspirations turned out to be an important predictor of entrance into higher education but occupational aspirations turned out to be an important predictor of both entrance and retention. This difference suggests that while it may be important to want to go to college, one is more likely to stay if that educational aspiration is coupled with the desire for an especially prestigious job that requires a great deal of education. Otherwise, one may lose interest in the educational goal and have no occupational end to sustain the motivation to continue.

Along with what one likes to do, it apparently is also important what one expects to do. Those students who expected to be admitted were more likely to enter than those who had lower expectations. Actually, two other expectancies were included in this investigation--expectancy of success once in school and the amount of education expected. It was somewhat confusing that only one of these expectancies, expectancy of success in college, turned out to be an important predictor of participation in postsecondary education. However, it might be argued that educational behavior is more closely tied to expectations about immediate events than to later events or tasks. That is, decisions students make about education would be more closely tied to expectations early in the educational process (e.g., can I do the course work?) than to expectations about later steps (e.g., can I graduate?). This same explanation may be useful in understanding why students who were more confident in their ability to complete the application process were more likely to enter than those who were not as confident. For, in some ways, the expression of confidence about the application process may also be an expression of the likelihood of being successful at the first step, i.e., getting in. This rationale is consistent with the work of Atkinson and his associates (Atkinson, 1968; Raynor, 1969) which shows that individuals make predictions about success at each step in a series of tasks leading to a desired goal and that, among individuals who have some doubts about their likelihood of achieving the final goal, their expectations about their success at the earlier steps are more predictive of their performance than their expectations about their success at later steps.

Self-perceptions also turned out to be important in the educational retainment of black youth. It has already been mentioned that black youth who entered were more confident that they had the skills to complete the sometimes overwhelming application process than those youth who did not enter. In addition, sense of control was a predictor of both immediate entry into postsecondary education following high school and, also, retention after two years. However, it is interesting to note that different aspects of one's sense of control were more relevant for entrance than for retention. The important issue at entrance was control over academic outcomes, specifically control over failure. This finding suggests that the major concern related to control that students consider when entering is failure and one's control over preventing this from occurring. Those youth who think they can control failures are more likely to enter while those who believe the control of failure is out of their hands apparently are reluctant to enter at all. The sense of responsibility for success did not turn out to be important, which may suggest that, if success occurs, it does not matter to the youth why or who is responsible.

The important issues related to control for retention was the sense of control over one's outcomes in general. This suggests that students are more likely to stay in postsecondary education if they think they have control over failure and they think they can use the skills or credentials they are working hard to attain to achieve their personal life goals. Those who are not certain that they control their outcomes may wonder about the worth of continuing their education if their fate is out of their hands anyway. It is also worth noting that retention was related only to the personal control factor but not the control ideology factor. This finding supports the findings of others that Blacks are more likely than Whites to make distinctions between what works for people in general in this society and what works for them individually. Gurin, et al., (1969) argue that their control ideology factor measures the former while their personal control ideology measures the latter. Research by Gurin, et al., (1969) as well as other researchers (Lao, 1970; Jorgenson, 1978) has shown that the behavior and performance of Blacks is more closely tied to personal control ideology than control ideology. This may explain why the present study found personal control to be an important predictor of educational outcomes but not control ideology.

The present study also provides evidence that the expectations of others is also an important element in determining educational outcomes. Mothers were the specific significant others in the present study. This finding suggests that mothers who expect more (educationally) from their children, get more. It is also possible that high educational expectations by mothers are more likely than low educational expectations to be coupled with support from the mother to enter postsecondary education. This support is likely to be continued throughout the course of postsecondary education if given initially. This may explain why the expectations of mothers distinguished between who did and did not enter initially but did not distinguish among those who were and were not participating two years later among those who initially went because mostly all these mothers were supportive.

Before closing, several aspects of the research merit further discussion. First, the fact that very few students were still in school after four years was a disheartening discovery. This reality, however, further supports the contention made earlier that there is a need to focus on the retention of black students once enrolled in higher education.

One might also worry about the effects of the loss of subjects on the findings. Obviously, the major concern with the loss of subjects is whether a special group might be overrepresented among the respondents. First, it should be mentioned that every effort was made to track down every one of the initial subjects after two and after four years. The use of graduates from that class as research assistants was implemented to locate as many initial participants as possible. As in most longitudinal studies, this still did not prove to be possible. Also, one intent of the raffle was to reduce the likelihood that students who were proud of what they were doing (e.g., in school) would be more likely to respond. In fact, this strategy seems to have worked since more than half of the respondents, after to and after four years, were not in school.

In conclusion, the above findings suggest that nonacademic characteristics of black high school students are related to postsecondary educational outcomes. This certainly has implications for those who conduct research related to post-secondary education among Blacks and colleges that face problems related to the entrance and retention of black students. However, the data also has implications for high school counselors and officials who are charged with the responsibility for educating and counseling students in such a way that the numbers of life options students consider and are prepared (educationally and perceptually) to be successful at are increased. The data suggests that high school personnel concerned with developing the perception in their students that college is a real alternative should emphasize the development of high educational and occupational aspirations as well as the development of high expectations of being admitted into higher education. Counselors should also offer support and bolster self-confidence in completing the application process as well as foster a sense of control over both educational and more general outcomes. In addition, parents must be educated to be sensitive to the impact of the expectancies they communicate to their youth. A discussion of counseling strategies and other activities related to these findings is beyond the scope of this paper. However, the reader is encouraged to read work published elsewhere by this author on evaluating such interventions (Burlew, in press).

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Verbally Expressed Modes of Transformation in the Fantasy Play of Black Preschool Children*

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Abstract

This study examined the various ways in which children transform reality into fantasy during free play through the verbalized attribution of properties to objects, materials, and situations which they do not actually possess. The dyadic social interaction of 36 black, low-income preschool children, six 3½-year-old dyads, six 5-year-old dyads, and six mixed-age dyads composed of a 3½- and 5-year-old partner, equally divided by sex, was observed and videotaped during a 20-minute free play session. All dyad partners were of the same sex. Results indicated that about two-fifths of the children's utterances represented transformations. Children made significantly more transformations which involved concrete objects than transformations which were abstract, ideational, and independent of particular concrete objects. Girls made a significantly greater number of total transformations, and verbally attributed new identities to existing objects, created more imaginary objects without the use of physical referents, and depicted imaginary roles significantly more often than boys. Proportion analyses indicated that girls created relatively more imaginary objects without the use of physical referents and depicted relatively more imaginary roles than boys. Boys attributed relatively more imaginary properties to objects than girls. There were no significant effects of dyad age. These results suggest a need for further empirical examination of cultural and sex differences in play as a transformational and representational activity.

There is a striking paucity of naturalistic research on fantasy play in poor and black children in the United States. The present study examines the development of verbally referenced modes of transformation in the fantasy play of black, low-income preschool children in a quasi-naturalistic setting. Fantasy play involves the use of objects, materials, or situations as though they possessed properties which they do not actually possess (Markey, 1935). Specifically, fantasy play is a transformational and representational activity whereby the "signifier" the present object, material, or situation, is transformed into the "signified" the absent object, material, or situation (Piaget, 1962; Sutton-Smith, 1972b).

Children's verbalizations during play provide evidence of their ability to separate the signifier and the signified. For example, as noted by Garvey (1974), children's use of the terms "really" and "pretend" reflects their ability to distinguish between reality and fantasy. Another type of evidence is children's verbally expressed "as if" transformations of objects, materials, and situations. Such verbalizations may take the

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form of "Pretend as if X is Y." These verbalizations are particularly crucial during social as opposed to solitary fantasy since the social interchange can continue between or among the children only if they mutually understand and agree on the imaginary identity of objects, materials, and situations.

No attempts have been made to examine the development of various modes of transformation employed during fantasy play, despite well-developed, explicit developmental sequences of fantasy play charted by Piaget (1962), and to a lesser extent, by Markey (1935) and Fein (1975). Piaget (1962) describes three stages in the development of play. Fantasy or symbolic play predominates during Stage 1, from about 1 to 3 years. Stage 1 is divided into eight substages, each of which is characterized by a particular type of transformation. Initially, children ascribe their own actions to other objects, e.g., making a doll go to sleep, and later ascribe actions imitated from models to other objects (Type I, A and B, respectively). During the next two substages, the child ascribes functions of one object to another and imitates the actions of other people and objects (Type II, A and B, respectively). The four remaining substages of Stage 1 include increasingly differentiated and complex construction and depiction of entire imaginary scenes, in contrast to the isolated imitations or simple assimilations of objects characteristic of earlier substages (Type III, A, B, C, and D).

Stage 2, from the age of 4 to 7, is characterized by a decrease in symbolism and an increase in orderliness, exact imitations of reality, and collective symbolism reflected by the enactment of differentiated and complementary roles. During Stage 3, from about 7 to 10 years, play becomes increasingly socialized and games with rules appear.

Fein (1975) postulates a general developmental sequence of fantasy whereby transformations become increasingly independent of actual objects and dependent on mental or ideational images.

In a study of the development of verbalized fantasy play in 21 to 53-month-old children, Markey (1935) found no self-initiated fantasy play before the age of 2, a very low level of participation in fantasy play before the age of 3, followed by an increase in verbalized play. The delay in the appearance of fantasy play in Markey's sample compared to Piaget's may be due to the fact that Markey employed a fairly conservative index of fantasy play--verbalized fantasy productions.

Though no attempts have been made to examine the development of various modes of transformation employed during fantasy play, a recent study by Matthews (1977) investigated the modes of transformation employed by 4-year-olds to effect the initial shift from reality to fantasy. Two general modes were distinguished: 1) material modes which involved manipulation of and reference to actual material in the play environment, and 2) ideational modes which involved ideas or mental images of things not present to the senses. Boys employed material modes more frequently than girls. Boys also used proportionally more material modes than ideational modes, whereas girls employed the two modes equally. However, there was no significant difference between the frequency of material as opposed to ideational modes.

The relative frequency of various modes of transformation employed to effect the reality-to-fantasy shift may differ from the relative frequency of modes employed during the fantasy play episode itself. In addition, the developmental sequences postulated by Piaget, Fein, and Markey suggest that the presence and frequency of various types of transformation may vary as a function of age. The present study, then, examines age and sex differences in the frequency of various types of transformation employed during play.

Naturalistic data on free fantasy play in poor and black children in the United States are almost nonexistent, though a number of studies have been conducted to increase social fantasy (sociodramatic) play in these children (e.g., Freyberg, 1973; Rosen, 1974; Saltz & Johnson, 1974). These studies are based on the assumptions that: 1) social fantasy play enhances social and cognitive development, and 2) lower-income American children engage in less and poorer-quality fantasy play than their more economically advantaged counterprats (Murphy, 1972; Smilansky, 1968, p. 62; Sutton-Smith, 1972a). Solic empirical evidence for the latter assumption is lacking. To date, only one study has examined empirically this issue in American children (Rosen, 1974). The free play of middle-income and black, low-income children was observed and assigned to six general categories of play (e.g., functional, constructive, sociodramatic, etc.). Findings indicated that a significantly greater number of middle-income children engaged in social fantasy play than black, low-income children. The study fails to explore the internal dynamics of play and therefore reveals little about the complex nature of fantasy or sociodramatic play in these two populations of children. In summary, amazingly little is known about the nature of play in poor and black children,and even less about fantasy play as a representational activity. To address these gaps in the literature in a preliminary fashion, the free play of black, low-income,preschool children was observed.

Method

Subjects

The subjects were 36 black children, 18 3½-year-olds and 18 5-year-olds, equally divided by sex. All of the children were from low-income families and attended Northern Educational Service Early Childhood Center in Springfield, Massachusetts.

To establish rapport with the children, two research assistants spent approximately four hours per day for five days in the Center prior to the investigation. Children were randomly assigned to three groups and paired within each group to constitute six 3½-year-old dyads, six 5-year-old dyads, and six mixed-age dyads composed of a 3½- and a 5-year-old partner. All dyad partners were of the same sex. All of the children had been attending the Center for at least three months and, therefore, were familiar with their dyad partner.

Setting

The study was conducted in an otherwise unused room in the Center equipped with a video recording system and several attractive toys (e.g., trucks, cars, dolls, dishes, blocks, puzzles, puppets, etc.). Practical considerations prohibited the use of a one-way mirror to covertly observe and record the children's interactions. Thus, panels and bookcases were placed in the room to form a 9 x 12 pay area, behind which the first assistant operated a video camera. A second assistant operated a recorder and monitor in an adjacent room.

Procedure

Dyad partners were escorted to the experimental room by the first assistant for 20 minutes of free play recorded on video tape. The assistant explained that she brought some new toys with which they could play while she tried to repair some equipment on the other side of the panels. All of the children responded enthusiastically to the opportunity to play with the toys. The assistant then moved to the other side of the panels. After approximately 10 minutes, videotaping began.

We were particularly concerned that the partial visibility of the camera and the assistant operating it might distract the children and attenuate free play. Pretesting indicated, however, that after about five to 10 minutes, most children ignored the camera and played in a typical fashion with the toys and each other.

Data Analyses

Verbatim transcripts of the speech of both partners during the 20-minute free play period were prepared by two research assistants. The research assistants were to write down what they heard and punctuate as they would dictation. The transcripts also included concomitant actions and any extra-linguistic information which made the meanings of the verbalizations clearer. The transcripts completed by one research assistant were checked by the other research assistant and the few discrepancies were discussed and resolved. The transcripts were then typed and coded into two preliminary quantitative categories including number of utterances and number of turns.

Utterance was defined as any word or string of words communicating one thought or idea. Nonlexical items (e.g., ah, wo, ooo, etc.) and sing-song or word play (e.g., do-de-do, etc.) were deleted. Only nonlexical items directly associated with a sound property of some real or imaginary object were retained, such as sh (liquid pouring sound), eech or vroom (locomotive sound) or choo (train whistle).

Turn was defined as all of one partner's utterances until the other partner spoke. In the typed transcripts, each child's turn was numbered consecutively. Each child's turn was then divided into utterances and the utterances within each turn were numbered consecutively.

Identification of Modes of Transformations

Utterances which denoted a condition of nonliteralness, i.e., attribution to an object, material, or situation properties other than those it actually possessed were identified. Examination of these utterances revealed two basic categories of transformation: object and ideational modes of transformation (Matthews, 1977).

Object modes of transformation. The common element of the object modes of transformation was the child's verbal attribution of a property to a particular referent which it did not actually possess. Typically, the child's verbal attribution was also accompanied by physical manipulation of the referent. The object modes of transformation included the following, some of which have been identified previously by Piaget (1962), Fein (1975), and Matthews (1977).

1) Animation. (Fein, 1975; Matthews, 1977; Piaget, 1962, Type I, A and B). Attribution of human or living characteristics to an inanimate object.

> Example: While holding a doll, a 5-year-old said to her partner, "My baby is crying 'cause she don't want to take a nap." A 5-year-old boy, striking two blocks together repeatedly, said, "The girl is slapping the boy in the face 'cause she is mad at him.'"

The qualities being ascribed to the doll and the block are the ability to feel and express displeasure in situations created by the children.

2) Reification. Attribution of the existence of an object or material which does not actually exist in the play area. Impetus for the creation of the imaginary object or material appears to be the presence and manipulation of a functionally related object in the play area. This existing object does not symbolize the ascribed object but appears to instigate its imaginary creation. Thus, this transformation appears to involve reactive, rather than active imagination.

> Example. a 3½-year-old pretended to pour coffee from a coffee pot into a cup and held the cup out to his partner, saying, "Here's some coffee I fixed for you." While carefully positioning plates, cups, and saucers on the floor, a 5-year-old said, "I'm fixing us up some food."

The impetus for the imaginary creation of coffee and food appears to be the actual presence of specific, functionally related objects (i.e., dishes) in the play area.

3) Attribution of Object Property. (Matthews, 1977; Werner & Kaplan, 1963). Attribution of a function, property, or characteristic to an

existing object or a nonexistent object or material, the creation of which appears closely tied to the presence and manipulation of objects or materials in the play area.

> Example. Five-year-old boys made high-pitched siren noises and "screech" and "vroom" sounds while pushing firetrucks and cars around the room. A 3½-year-old pretended to taste food from a plate, then pushed the plate away, saying, "This food is too hot to eat."

Nonexistent materials which appear to be created because of the presence and manipulation of functionally related objects or materials, (i.e., dishes), and objects actually present in the play area (i.e., firetruck, car) are ascribed functions, properties, or characteristics which they do not actually possess.

4) Substitution. (Matthews, 1977; Piaget, 1962, Type IIA). Attribution of a new identity to an existing object.

> Example: A 5-year-old boy rolled a large block in a straight path toward a pile of toys on the floor, saying, "I'm gonna knock all these things over with my bowling ball." A 5-year-old picked up a long, thin puzzle piece and put it in his mouth, saying, "This is my cigarette."

Existing objects or materials are ascribed to be something (i.e., bowling ball, cigarette) other than what they actually are.

Ideational modes of transformations. In contrast to the object modes of transformations, the ideational modes involved an abstraction, idea or theme which was relatively independent of any particular concrete object or material. Though objects were often used to support the ideational modes (e.g., plates used as steering wheels), the referents are abstractions, ideas, themes, or otherwise "mental images not present in the senses" (e.g., going to the store to buy toys) (Matthews, 1977). The ideational modes included the following:

1) Object Realism. (Matthews, 1977). Attribution of the existence of materials or objects which do not actually exist in the room. Unlike the reactive imagination characterizing reification, object realism involves the active creation of an imaginary object or material. Specifically, the imaginary object appears independent or at least only tangentially related to the existence of any functionally related object in the play area. Previous research has not distinguished between these two types of transformation.

> Example. Holding a cup in her hand, a 5-year-old walked to an empty corner of the room and said, "I'll put this soda in the refrigerator." A 3½-year-old held up the front end of a truck and pretended to fix a tire, saying, "This is my flashlight to fix the tire."

There was no concrete object representing or serving as a substitute for a refrigerator or flashlight, and the relationships between the imaginary refrigerator and flashlight and existing objects in the room (i.e., cup and car) were only tangential. Thus, the imaginary creation of the refrigerator and flashlight was dependent primarily on the child's active, rather than reactive imagination. This transformation was often combined with "empty gestures" or gestures performed in empty space, without the use or support of concrete objects, to represent imaginary objects and actions (i.e., pretending to drink from a non-existent glass) (Markey, 1935; Werner & Kaplan, 1963).

2) Attribution of Nonexistent Object Property. Attribution of a function, property, or characteristic to a nonexistent or substituted object. Previous research has not distinguished between the attribution of characteristics to existing objects and nonexistent or substituted objects.

> Example. A 5-year-old moved her hand back and forth across the doll's dress, pretending to iron the dress. She said, looking at the doll, "Don't touch that iron, 'cause it's hot." After connecting two bristle blocks, a large square one and a long thin one, creating a shape similar to a lollipop, a 3½-year-old put the blocks to her mouth, pretending to lick them, saying, "This lollipop tastes sour."

A non-existent object for which there is no concrete referent (i.e., iron) or substituted object (i.e., lollipop) is attributed a property, function, or characteristic (i.e., hot, sour) which it does not actually possess.

3) Situational Attribution. (Matthews, 1977; Piaget, 1962, Stage 2) Verbal reference to or negotiation of situations as though they existed in the room, but which in actuality do not.

> Example. A 3½ and 5-year-old sat on a table, holding and turning plates as though they were steering wheels and pretended to drive to the store. After about a minute, both girls put their plates aside, and jumped off the table. The 3½-year-old confirmed "We're at the store now." Two 5-year-old boys rolled firetrucks around the room, making siren noises. One of them siad, "We going to put the fire out."

The children created and depicted imaginary situations.

4) Role Attribution. (Matthews, 1977; Piaget, 1962, Stage 2) Verbal reference to negotiation, or depiction of characters or roles other than those characterizing the child.

> Example. A 5-year-old clarified respective roles when she and a 3½-year-old initiated a housekeeping episode, saying "I'm the Mommy, O.K., daughter?" Two 5-year-olds threw large square blocks against the wall, pretending to play basketball. One of them said, while running toward the wall, "Look, look, I'm Doctor J jamming."

The children pretended to be someone other than who they were (i.e., Mother, Doctor J, a professional basketball player).

These eight modes of transformation were ranked in ascending order, as listed above according to the relative amount of mental abstraction the transformation appeared to require. It was assumed, for example, that pretending that coffee was present in an existent cup (reification) involved less abstraction and less ability to traverse from reality to fantasy than using a block as a substitute for a spoon (substitution).

Categories were mutually exclusive, so in those instances where an utterance represented more than one transformation mode, the utterance was assigned to the highest category. For example, in one instance, a child held a cup in one hand, picked up a long, thin block in another, and pretended to use the block as a spoon to stir her imaginary coffee, and said, "This is the spoon for my coffee." This utterance involved both substitution (block as spoon) and reification (nonexistent coffee in existent cup) but was assigned to the substitution category since substitution is of a higher rank.

While the ranking of transformation modes is primarily a priori, it is not without empirical basis. Specifically, the ranking in the present study of those transformation modes identified by Piaget (i.e., animation, substitution, role, and situation attribution) are consistent with Piaget's developmental sequence of fantasy transformations. A critical feature of this sequence is the increasing abstraction characterizing the transformations.

Reliability

Six transcripts from a total of 18 were randomly chosen to establish reliability. Two independent coders segmented each of the six transcripts into utterances. Any utterance which represented an attribution of property other than those actually possessed was assigned to one of the transformation modes.

Reliability was expressed as percentage agreement between coders and was calculated as the number of utterances segmented or coded the same by both coders, divided by the total number of utterances segmented or coded by either of the coders. Mean coder agreement for segmentation of utterances was 97% and the mean coder agreement for the eight transformation modes was 87%.

Results

The measures for the two children in each dyad for each response category were summed and the dyad was treated as a unit for all analyses. There was a considerable amount of talk in each dyad during the 20-minute session. The mean number of total utterances in the dyads was 234.67, or about one utterance every five seconds. The mean number of utterances per turn was 1.94.

Preliminary analyses of the mean number of total utterances, total turns, and transformation modes revealed no significant dyad age effects. Therefore, data were collapsed across dyad age and, unless stated otherwise, t tests for independent means were performed to determine the effects of sex. As shown in Table 1, girls talked more than boys as measured by total number of utterances, $t(16) = 2.35$, $p < .03$, and also took more turns than boys, $t(16) = 2.14$, $p < .05$. There was no significant sex difference in the number of utterances per turn.

Table 1

Mean Dyad Scores by Sex

	Sex of Dyad		
Measure	Girls (n=9)	Boys (n=9)	p
Total Utterances	282.67	186.67	.03
Total Turns	162.78	103.44	.05
Utterances per Turn	1.77	2.12	ns
Proportion of Transformations of Total Utterances	.46	.34	.10

Of a mean total of 234.67 utterances per dyad for all subjects, a mean proportion of .40 was assigned to one of the eight transformation categories. As shown in Table 1, a greater proportion of the total utterances emitted by girls than boys represented transformation. However, this difference did not reach statistical significance ($p < .10$). All subsequent analyses are based on these utterances representing various modes of transformation.

Because utterances were the bases on which transformations were inferred and girls emitted significantly more utterances than boys, two measures were used in the analyses of each mode of transformation; 1) mean number of transformations, and 2) mean proportion of total number of transformations. Analyses of the mean number of transformations were performed to determine if there were significant sex differences in the absolute frequency of each mode of transformation. In contrast, analyses of mean proportion were performed to determine if there were significant sex differences in the relative frequency of each mode of transformation. Analyses of these two measures yielded different results and, therefore, will be reported separately. Analyses of mean number of transformations by sex will be reported first.

Table 2

Mean Number of Transformations by Sex

Transformation	Sex of Dyad Girls (n=9)	 Boys (n=9)	p
Object Mode			
Animation	36.67	20.22	ns
Reification	28.78	15.56	.06
Attribution of Object Property	4.00	5.56	.04
Substitution	10.22	2.33	.02
Ideational Mode			
Object Realism	4.89	0.00	.05
Attribution of nonexistent object property	7.00	3.00	.07
Situational attribution	15.11	9.67	ns
Role attribution	13.00	1.44	.03
Total transformations	119.67	57.78	.006

As shown in Table 2, the three most frequent modes of transformation for both boys and girls were, in descending order, animation, reification, and situational attribution. A *t* test for correlated means indicated that, overall, children made a significantly greater number of object than ideational modes of transformations, *t* (17) = 5.58, $p < .001$.

Girls made a significantly greater number of total transformations than boys, *t* (16) = 3.12, $p < .006$). Examination of each type of transformation revealed that girls made a significantly greater number of substitutions, *t*(16) = 2.54, $p < .02$, object realism, *t*(16) = 2.08, $p < .05$, and role attribution transformations, *t*(16) = 2.35, $p < .03$, than boys. Girls made a greater number of reification ($p < .06$) and attribution of nonexistent object property transformations ($p < .07$) than boys, though these differences only approached statistical significance. There were no significant sex differences in the mean number of attribution of object property, situational attribution, and animation transformations. Though there were no significant sex differences in the number of animation transformations, there were differences between boys and girls in the inanimate objects to which they attributed human characteristics. These objects included dolls, puppets, and blocks. A 2(sex) x 3(object) analysis of variance of animation, with object as a within-subjects variable, revealed a significant main effect for object, *F* (2, 32), = 7.26, $p < .003$, and a significant sex X object interaction, *F* (2, 32) = 6.99, $p < .003$. Inspection of cell means indicated that for boys, of a mean total of 20.22 animations, .76 were made with puppets, .19 with dolls, and .05 with blocks. For girls, however, of a mean total of 35.67 animations, .71 were made with dolls, .26 with puppets, and .03 with blocks. Neuman-Keuls post-hoc analyses indicated that girls attributed a significantly greater proportion of human or living characteristics to dolls than did boys ($p < .01$), while boys attributed a significantly greater proportion to puppets than girls ($p < .01$). There was no significant sex difference in the proportion of human characteristics attributed to blocks.

Mean proportion for each mode of transformation was calcualted by dividing the number of transformations of each mode by the total number of transformations. As shown in Table 3, boys made a significantly greater proportion of attribution of object property transformation than girls,

Table 3

Mean Proportion of Transformations by Sex

Transformation	Sex of Dyad Girls (n=9)	 Boys (n=9)	 p
Object Mode			
Animation	.34	.30	ns
Reification	.23	.35	ns
Attribution of object property	.04	.10	.04
Substitution	.10	.06	ns
Ideational Mode			
Object Realism	.03	.00	.02
Attribution of nonexistent object property	.06	.06	ns
Situational attribution	.11	.11	ns
Role attribution	.09	.02	.02

$\underline{t}$ (16) = 2.20, $\underline{p} < .04$. Girls made significantly greater proportions of object realism and role attribution transformations than boys, $\underline{t}$ (16) = 2.60, $p. < 0.2$, and $\underline{t}$ = 2.58, $p < .02$, respectively. There were no significant sex differences in the mean proportions of the remaining modes of transformations.

Discussion

The present study indicates that a considerable proportion of black, low-income children's verbalizations during free play involve attributions of properties to objects, materials, or situations other than those they actually possess. Despite the relatively conservative index of fantasy, almost one-half of the girls' and one-third of the boys' verbalizations represented transformations. In her study of the free play of white, middle-income children in a naturalistic setting, Matthews (1977) reported that boys and girls spent approximately 43% and 48% of their time, respectively, in fantasy play. Though the actual amount of time engaged in fantasy play was not measured in the present study, the proportion of fantasy (transformation) verbalizations to total verbalizations is strikingly similar to the proportion of fantasy play to total free play reported by Matthews. Moreover, the measure of verbalized fantasy in the present study probably underestimates the amount of actual fantasy play, since many instances of fantasy were not verbally referenced or expressed by the child, and therefore, were not reflected in the data analyses. The present findings, then, cast doubt on, or at least suggest the need for further examination of the assertion that low income children engage in less fantasy or sociodramatic play than middle class white children. Clearly, there is a need to examine cultural differences in the internal dynamics of play, rather than merely cataloging the predominant types of play which distinguish various cultural groups. Stone (1971) argues that, "Play, like other collective enterprises, is a collective representation: it represents the arrangements of the society and historical era in which it is carried on" (p. 5). If the contents of children's play are their environmental experiences, and these experiences are selected or determined by socio-cultural factors, then the content, and perhaps the structure of play will reflect the culture's ethos.

Transformations which involved concrete objects (object modes) were more than twice as frequent in occurrence as transformations which were abstract or ideational in nature (ideational modes). Matthews (1977) found that ideational modes were as likely to be employed in the initial shift from reality to fantasy as were object modes. The present findings suggest that the relative frequencies of various types of transformations employed during fantasy play, as opposed to those employed to effect the initial reality-to-fantasy shift, may differ. However, a definitive answer to this question awaits further research.

The failure to find age differences in the present study was surprising, but may be due to the proximity in age of the groups. An even more plausible explanation is that the major developmental changes in fantasy transformations occur prior to the ages observed in the present study. Piaget (1962) suggests that fantasy or symbolic play, and the various transformation modes employed to effect fantasy, predominate between the first and third year. Future research, then, should examine the development of these transformation modes in younger children.

Consistent sex differences emerged in the present study. Girls made a significantly greater number of verbalized transformations during play than boys. In addition, girls verbally attributed new identities to existing objects (substitution), created more imaginary objects without physical referents (object realism), and depicted imaginary characters and roles (role attribution) significantly more often than boys. Consistent with previous studies, girls in the present study verbalized more than boys during play (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). However, even when girls' greater number of verbalizations was taken into account, analyses of mean proportions indicated that girls made significantly greater proportions of object realism and role attribution transformations.

Stone (1962, 1971) suggests that the roles children enact during play are of two types: anticipatory roles and fantastic roles. Anticipatory roles include roles that the child might realistically be expected to adopt or encounter in later life, such as parental roles and common occupations. In contrast, fantastic roles include roles that the child can seldom, if ever, be expected to enact or encounter in later life, such as pirates, cowboys, Indians, and creatures from outer space. Stone suggests that fantastic roles are more characteristic of boys' than girls' play. Observations made in the present study are consistent with Stone's analysis. Boys often enacted fantastic roles and characters from the media such as Batman, Wolfman, Frankenstein, and Spider Man. In contrast, girls typically enacted housekeeping, shopping, and excursion episodes. Indeed, not one instance of fantastic role enactment was observed among the girls.

Differences in the kinds of roles enacted by boys and girls in the present study, as well as the finding that girls made more role transformations than boys, both in an absolute and relative sense, may reflect greater sensitivity by girls to the import of roles in everyday life. Moreover, some researchers suggest that precisely because the fantasy play of girls is typically characterized by enactment of anticipatory roles, it may function more to prepare them for adulthood than fantasy play of boys (Erikson, 1963; Stone, 1971). If indeed this assertion is accurate, it is undoubtedly mediated by girls' greater exposure to, and therefore, knowledge of the roles played by female adults, in contrast to boys' exposure and knowledge of roles played by male adults.

An additional mode of transformation examined in the present study warrants further comment. Children most often effected the substitution transformation with blocks. However, their selection of a block to function as a substitute for a particular object appeared far from random. Our observations support those of Griffiths (1935) and Stern (1924) that symbolism, in this case, the selection of one object to substitute for another, is based on the discovery and recognition of an analogy between two objects or situations. The children in the present study appeared to select substitutes which shared properties of the imagined object, while ignoring dissimilar properties. Specifically, concrete dimensions such as shape and form of objects appeared to be salient determinants of which block was chosen. For example, children often pretended to smoke cigarettes and stir imaginary coffee, and typically, these pretenses were enacted with long, thin blocks. In contrast, when two boys pretended to play basketball, they chose one of the largest of the square blocks as a substitute for the basketball. Further examination of this issue, both in naturalistic and experimental settings, seems warranted.

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CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF AUTHORITY IN BOTSWANA AND THEIR ANTECEDENT CHILDREARING PRACTICES AND ATTITUDES

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Abstract

Children's perceptions of authority figures and antecedent socialization practices and attitudes were examined. Your Idea about People and Rules was administered to 427 children (boys and girls) in four primary schools (2 Tswana Medium, 1 Parochial, 1 English). Children were 10 to 16 years old and in grades 5, 6 and 7.

Forty-eight questionnaires were randomly selected to identify the parents/guardians to be interviewed in their homes. A 2 x 2 x 4 (Sex x Family Structure x School) MANOVA revealed significant differences in children perceptions of authority. Girls were more supportive of authority figures than boys. Boys viewed authority figures as having punitive power more often than girls. Children of extended families perceived authority figures as being supportive of each other more often than children of nuclear families. School differences indicated that children from Tswana-medium schools perceived more intersystem support and were willing to enforce rules more often than were children from English-medium and parochial schools. A Pearson Correlation revealed that children of parents with traditional attitudes and childbearing practices have more positive perceptions of authority figures than children of more western-oriented parents. The present study suggests school setting and the marginal move of Tswana parents toward western childrearing practices may result in dissonance which produces a strain on the parent-child relationship.

The child-adult relationship in Botswana is much more stringent than in America. Roles are clearly defined in terms of parent-child, male-female, and authority-subordinate. Botswana as a society in transition presents an excellent background for studying authority in transition. Changes from a cattle economy to a cash economy, a diminishing extended family, exposure and adoption of Western education and ideology are resulting in a breakdown of authority.

The present study examines Botswana children's perceptions of the various authority figures influential in their development and the degree to which children internalize the norms of those authority figures. In addition, parental attitudes and the influence of specific childrearing patterns were examined in conjunction with children's perceptions of authority.

There have been numerous investigations into the childrearing practices of various societies within Africa (Kay, 1962; LeVine, 1962; Raum, 1940; and Read, 1960). To date, most studies suggest that African parents tend to stress obedience and responsibility to authority (Barry, Bacon, & Child, 1959; Munroe & Munroe, 1962; LeVine & LeVine, 1963) and the most frequently used method for inculcating these values is corporal punishment.

The mandate for obedience through the use of corporal punishment has been considered a function of the adult economy needs. In pastoral and agrarian societies where production is organized in such a way as to yield a substantial surplus of food through cooperative and coordinated work efforts, the training of the young is directed toward compliance (Barry, Bacon, & Child, 1959).

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Munroe and Munroe (1972) further substantiate the economic explanation for obedience training with their data on children in an East African society. In their study of Kenyan children, LeVine and LeVine (1963) contend that one of the primary aims of child training is to teach obedience through corporal punishment or fear. A good child is characterized as an obedient child.

Another study conducted among the Yoruba (LeVine, 1962), used essays written by secondary school children to examine children's perceptions of childrearing practices. Results indicate that academic achievement was rewarded most often and that verbal praise was the most frequent method. Punishment was most often given when a child failed to obey a standing rule. Interestingly, more punishments than rewards were given by parents and the most frequent form of punishment was physical punishment.

Munroe, Munroe, and LeVine (1972) suggest that the compliance syndrome may be connected with the habitual deference pattern seen among many African children. Others have investigated the role deference patterns play in personality development. Whiting and Whiting (1968) maintain that early training in obedience may lead to a lack of initiative, creativity and individuality on the part of the child.

Schiff (see Evans, 1970) looked at childrearing practices and their effect on curiosity in Baganda children. Both the mother's and the child's behavior were reportedly related to degree of modernization. Traditional mothers were more likely to actively discourage the child from asking questions and exploring than modern mothers.

Although parents are generally viewed as the primary socializers, other social systems within a society may act as secondary socializers. The school system is the socializing agent that most often supplements the role of the parent. The teacher being the primary authority figure (parent substitute) in the school system.

Ainsworth and Ainsworth (1962) conducted a series of studies with students in secondary schools in Uganda and Kenya. In one study projective techniques were used to assess the political awareness of students and their attitudes toward authority. They found that the more westernized Africans are frequently more frustrated and as a result are more hostile and aggressive toward authority figures. However, they are also able to handle that frustration more effectively.

In another analysis, Ainsworth and Ainsworth (1962) report that the degree of westernization has less of an effect on students' attitudes toward parents than it does upon personality characteristics. Many of the more westernized students' attitudes remained consistent with those of their parents; they placed a higher value on education and tended to view teachers more positively than the less westernized students. Nearly all the differences between schools in the study were attributed to the difference in the general level of westernization. However, some of the differences were considered a result of the specific acculturation received at the school (e.g., a school run by Catholics would produce a different pattern of living from one operated by the government).

Thema (1972), a Botswana educator, maintains that one of the most obvious changes in Tswana societies is the weakening of the institutions of authority. The emergence of political parties and political awareness has led to a gradual weakening of the authority of the chiefs. Parental authority also is being challenged as the extended family unit narrows and as the influence of Western childrearing practices increases. Moreover, children are constantly exposed to innovative ideas through education. Consequently, the two different school settings in Botswana (Tswana-medium and English-medium) also may promote very different attitudes about traditional versus modern lifestyles. Modern attitudes may be contrary to traditional modes of thought and may result in dissonance among children as they attempt to cope with the conflicting lifestyle models.

Thus, the present research was designed to investigate children's perceptions of authority as a function of differences in sex, family composition, school setting, parental attitudes, and parental childrearing practices.

Method

A 2 x 2 x 4 factorial design was used to study children's perceptions of authority figures. Independent variables were sex, family composition, and school setting. Family composition was defined as: nuclear--those families in which the household was composed of the primary family unit and temporary visiting relatives; extended--the family unit was composed of several families of generational members in one compound or adjacent compounds. Tswana-medium, Parochial, and English-medium schools comprised the three different school settings. Tswana-medium schools are taught in Setswana up to and including standard 3 then the mode of instruction becomes English. English-medium schools have classes conducted in English throughout the 7 standards. The Parochial school was a Catholic Tswana-medium school staffed by both religious and lay people.

Dependent variables were: a) attachment to authority figures--the child's perception of the authority figures' willingness to help and the child's liking for authority figures; b) power to punish--the child's perception of the authority figures' power to punish noncompliant behavior; c) intersystem support--the extent to which the child perceives systems and authority figures as mutually supportive for punishing noncompliant behavior; d) internalization of norms--the child's subjective responses to his own noncompliance with rules of authority figures and his tendency to impose rules upon his peers or his efforts to punish peers for rule violations.

Authority figures considered were mother, father, teacher, policeman, and headman (the oldest agnatic member of the ward).

A correlational design was used to determine the relationship between parents' factors and childrens' factors. Parents' factors were: childrearing practices--psychological versus punitive discipline, childrearing attitudes--western versus traditional orientation. Childrens' factors were the same as those described as the dependent variables for the factorial design.

Subjects

The subjects (Ss) were 427 children (181 males and 244 females, 2 were unclassified) in Standards 5, 6 and 7. Children ranged in age from 10 to 16 years (Mean Age = 12 yrs).

The schools selected for the study were four primary schools in the Serowe area. Two schools were Tswana-medium schools, ($N_1 = 98$; $N_2 = 161$) one was a Tswana-medium parochial school (N = 76). The English-medium school had the smallest population and the highest tuition.

Experimenters

Experimenters (Es) were a female Motswana interpreter and a Black American female. In addition, 10 senior level students from the local Secondary School acted as facilitators in administering the questionnaire. All facilitators were trained on how to answer questions without influencing the children's responses.

Instrumentation

A modified version of Hess and Minturn's (1970) Your Ideas About People and Rules (YIAPR) was used to assess the childs' perception of authority figures. YIAPR consists of both nominal and ordinal scales. Ordinal items include: 7 items to assess authority figures' willingness to help, 4 items indicated liking for authority figures, 6 items revealed power of authority to punish, and 7 items indicated guilt feelings for failure to comply to authority figures' rules. Nominal items included 4 items (each with 6 possible "Yes" or "No" responses) to determine intersystem support and 7 possible "Yes" or "No" responses for willingness to enforce rules. YIAPR reliability was assessed by Hess and Minturn in terms of average percent of test-retest agreement (nominal = 76.3%; ordinal = 72.1%). In the present study, the range of YIAPR ordinal items was reduced from 6 to 4 because of the limitation of Setswana in accomodating response choices (e.g., "usually" and "occasionally" both translate to gantsi in Setswana).

The Parents Interview (PI) was developed to assess parental attitudes and childrearing practices. Eight open-ended questions and five hypothetical situations (range of response options = 1-6) were used to assess parental childrearing practices. Twelve statements (range of response options =

1-4) were devised to determine modern versus traditional attitudes. All items were scaled according to increasing level of Western (modern) responses (e.g., for Statements, 1 = traditional 4 = modern).

Procedure

A Tswana-medium school was identified as the school for the pilot study because it was representative of the majority of schools in the identified area. The investigator talked with the principal, teachers and children and did a series of observations in the school over a 4-week period. In addition, the education officer, principal, and teachers acted as consultants in developing the modified version of the YIAPR.

The YIAPR was back translated in order to control for the validity of the translation. Children in Standards 3 and 5 were given the YIAPR and resulting modifications were made.

The final version of the YIAPR was administered to the children in the four schools described above. Twenty-five males and twenty-three females were randomly selected and their parents/guardians were interviewed in their homes by the investigator and her interpreter. Whenever possible the investigator conducted the interview.

Several statistical procedures were used on the resulting data. A 2 x 2 x 4 (Sex x Family Structure x School) Multivariate Analysis of Variance statistical procedure was used to analyze the YIAPR. Significant univariate F's were reported only if the multivariate F was significant. A Newman-Keuls Test was used for post hoc comparisons of means. Missing data were assigned the mean (2.5) of the response range of ordinal items (this comprised approximately 10% of the ordinal data). A composite score was calculated for nominal items using the total number of "yes" responses.

Missing data for the PI was assigned the mean of the response range (3.5) for statements of hypothetical situations and the appropriate open-ended statements. A Pearson Product Moment Correlation was used to assess the relationship between parent variables and child variables.

Results

Sex Differences

The data of the present study produced significant multivariate main effects for sex differences in children's perceptions of authority figures' willingness to help, ($F(6/398) = 2.36$, $p < .02$), liking for authority figures ($F(4/400) = 2.58$, $p < .04$), guilt feelings for noncompliance to authority figures' rules ($F(1/397) = 2.14$, $p < .04$) and authority figures' power to punish noncompliance ($F(6/398) = 2.11$, $p < .05$).

The univariate analysis revealed a significant sex difference in children's perceptions of teachers' ($F(1/403) = 8.02$, $p < .004$) and friends' ($F(1/403) = 3.76$, $p < .03$) willingness to help. Teachers and friends were perceived as willing to help more often by girls ($\bar{X}$ for teachers = 2.96; $\bar{X}$ for friends =2.62) than boys ($\bar{X}$ for teachers = 2.62, $\bar{X}$ for friends = 2.38) (see Table 1).

Sex differences in children's liking for authority figures were toward fathers ($F(1/403) = 8.29$, $p < .004$), mothers ($F(1/403) = 6.18$, $p < .01$), and teachers ($F(1/403) = 4.620$, $p < .03$). Girls stated a liking for authority figures more often than boys. See Table 2 for mean scores of sex differences.

Table 1

Means of Children's Questionnaire Responses to Authority Figures' Willingness to Help X Sex

Authority Figure	Sex	
	Male	Female
Mother	2.57	2.82
Teacher	2.62	2.96*
Father	2.89	2.82
Policeman	2.13	2.11
Friend	2.38	2.62*

In addition, girls were more likely than boys to express guilt feelings for noncompliance when the authority figure was the mother (univariate main effect, ($F(1/403) = 4.08$, $p < .04$) or a policeman ($F(1/403) = 8.02$, $p < .005$). The mean scores for girls' expressed guilt feelings for noncompliance to 3.05 mothers' rules was 3.05 for girls and 2.81 for boys. For policemen the mean scores were 2.73 for girls and 2.34 for boys (see Table 3).

Another sex difference which produced a different direction in response focused on children's perceptions of the punitive power of the authority figures (univariate main effect, ($F(1/403) = 8.64$, $p < .003$). Boys ($\bar{X} = 2.61$) perceived the father as having punitive power more often than did girls ($\bar{X} = 2.24$).

Family Composition

Family composition differences indicated that children of extended families perceived more intersystem support in punishing noncompliance than did children of nuclear families (multivariate main effect, $F(4/400) = 3.12$, $p < .01$). A subsequent univariate analysis revealed a significant family structure difference in children's perceptions of intersystem support for all authority figures (See Table 4). Children of extended families perceived more intersystem support than children of nuclear families (See Table 4). There were no family differences in children's attachment to authority figures, perceptions of power, or internalization of rules.

Table 2

Means of Children's Questionnaire Responses to Liking for Authority Figures X Sex

	Sex	
Authority Figure	Male	Female
Mother	3.64	3.83*
Father	3.59	3.84*
Teacher	3.26	3.47*
Headman	3.07	3.14

*$p < .05$

Table 3

Means of Children's Questionnaire Responses to Guilt Feelings for Noncompliance X Sex

	Sex	
Authority Figure	Male	Female
Mother	2.79	2.86
Father	2.76	2.77
Teacher	2.81	3.05*
Headman	2.48	2.73
Policeman	2.34	2.73*

*$p < .05$

School Differences

A significant multivariate school main effect was found for liking for authority figures ($F(12/1058) = 3.67$, $p < .00002$), power of authority figures to punish noncompliance ($F(18/1126) = 1.94$, $p < .01$), and intersystem support of authority figures ($F(12/1058) = 2.85$, $p < .001$), and willingness to enforce rules ($F(15/1101) = 3.49$, $p < .00001$).

A univariate analysis revealed a significant school difference in liking for the headman ($F(3/403) = 8.07$, $p < .00003$). A Newman-Keuls Test of multiple comparisons revealed that children from Tswana-medium schools ($\bar{X}_1 = 3.21$, $\bar{X}_2 = 3.47$) expressed a liking for headmen more often than did children from English-medium schools ($\bar{X} = 2.62$). The authority figure contributing to the school difference in children's perception of power to punish was the teacher (univariate main effect, $F(1/403) = 3.74$, $p < .02$) (see Tables 5 & 6).

Quite unexpectedly, the difference in children's perceptions of the teacher's power to punish occurred between children from English-medium schools and children from parochial schools. Children from English-medium schools ($\bar{X} = 2.89$) perceived teachers as having punitive power more often than children of parochial schools ($\bar{X} = 2.24$). Friends were viewed as having punitive power more often by children from Tswana-medium schools ($\bar{X} = 1.81$) than by children from parochial schools ($\bar{X} = 1.40$).

Another significant finding concerned children's perceptions of intersystem support. The univariate analysis revealed significant school differences in children's perceptions of intersystem support for the father ($F(1/403) = 3.68$, $p < .01$), teacher ($F(1/403) = 6.12$, $p < .0004$), and headman ($F(1/403) = 6.01$, $p < .0005$). A Newman-Meuls Test revealed that children from Tswana-medium schools perceived more intersystem support than children from parochial or English-medium schools for all authority figures (See Table 7).

Table 4

Means of Children's Questionnaire Responses to Intersystem Support X Family Composition

Authority Figure	Family Composition Nuclear Family	 Extended Family
Mother	2.64	3.16
Father	2.56	3.04
Teacher	2.60	3.01
Headman	2.71	3.10

The significant school differences in children's willingness to enforce authority figures' rules on their peers was for all authority figures (See Table 8). A Newman-Keuls Test indicated that children from English-medium and/or parochial schools were less willing to enforce rules than were children from Tswana-medium schools (See Table 8 for multiple comparison of means).

Table 5

Results of the Newman-Keuls Test for the Main Effect School: Liking for Authority Figure

School	E-m	PR	T-m^{2}	T-ml
Headman	2.62	2.96	3.20	3.47

Table 6

Results of Newman Keuls Test for the Main Effect School: Power to Punish

School	PR	T-m^{2}	T-ml	E-m
Teacher	2.24	2.49	2.57	2.89
	PR	E-m	T-m^{2}	T-ml
Friends	1.41	1.47	1.66	1.82

A Pearson Correlation indicated a significant, but low relationship between liking for authority figures and disciplining techniques. Children of parents/guardians using non-punitive discipline techniques stated less liking for authority figures than children of punitive parents ($\bar{r} = -.38$, $p < .004$). There also was a tendency for children of modern parents to perceive authority figures as having punitive power more often than children of traditional parents ($\bar{r} = .30$, $p < .02$).

Table 7

Results of Newman-Meuls Test for the Main Effect School: Intersystem Support

School	E-m	PR	T-ml	T-m^2
Figure				
Father	2.21	2.62	3.02	3.04
	PR	E-m	T-m^2	T-ml
Teacher	2.50	2.75	2.85	3.14
	E-m	PR	T-ml	T-m^2
Headman	2.41	2.67	3.11	3.17

Table 8

Results of Newman-Keuls Test for the Main Effect School: Willingness to Enforce Rules

School	PR	E-m	T-ml	T-m^2
Figure				
Father	3.89	4.06	4.56	4.80
	E-m	PR	T-ml	T-m^2
Teacher	3.53	3.63	4.23	3.61
	PR	E-m	T-ml	T-m^2
Mother	3.86	4.04	4.64	4.68
	E-m	PR	T-ml	T-m^2
Village	3.51	3.67	4.15	4.37

Summary of Results

In general, girls were more likely than boys to perceive authority figures as willing to help and showed a personal liking for authority figures. Girls were also found to report guilt feelings more frequently than boys. Boys, however, were more likely to view authority figures as having punitive power.

School differences primarily reflected differences between Tswana-medium schools and English-medium and parochial schools. Children from Tswana-medium schools were more likely to see authority figures as having the power to punish transgressions, they perceived more intersystem support, and were more likely to enforce rules on their peers than were children from English-medium and parochial schools.

A relationship between parental variables (discipline techniques and parental attitudes) and child variables (conception of compliance systems) was supported by the data. Nonpunitive discipline techniques tended to be negatively related to children's liking for authority. In addition, modern parental attitudes were positively related to children's perceptions of authority figures power to punish.

Discussion

The results of the present study suggest that girls are more supportive of compliance systems than boys. As expected girls were more likely to perceive authority figures as willing to help and showed a stronger personal liking for the authority figures than boys. Guilt feelings were also more frequently expressed by girls than boys. Boys were more likely to view authority figures as having punitive power. These data are consistent with findings of other researchers (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974; Hoffman & Saltzstein, 1967; Bronfenbrenner, 1962), regarding the differential socialization of boys and girls. A strong attachment (i.e., willingness of authority figures to help and the child's liking for authority figures) appears to exist between girls and authority figures. Girls perceived authority figures as more responsive to their nurturant and dependency needs. Nurturance and dependency are characteristic of Botswana women who conform to their ascribed role as caretaker and helper. The man's role in the society is that of protector and provider which demands independence and initiative. In order to become competent in their ascribed roles, boys are discouraged from displaying dependent behaviors. Boys do perceive authority figures as less receptive to requests for help and more likely to be punitive. A pattern which Baumrind (1972) suggests is one likely to produce independent behavior.

Interestingly, the authority figure perceived differently by males and females in terms of power to punish was the father. In Tswana society the father or father substitute takes a more active role in socializing the male child once he reaches 8 years of age. The father is also the one likely to administer physical discipline, whereas, the mother is more likely to scold the child. As a result of the different disciplining techniques of mothers and fathers, boys are more likely to be physically disciplined and girls are more likely to be verbally disciplined. This differential socialization practice is also reflected in girls reporting guilt feelings for unnoticed transgressions more often than boys. According to Saltzstein (1976), power assertive techniques are less likely to produce internalization of norms than more psychological techniques.

Family Composition Differences

Children of extended families viewed authority figures as supporting each other in punishing noncompliance more often than did children of nuclear families. This suggests that the reciprocal socialization component of the extended family is generalized to socializing agents of other systems. The multiplicity of caretakers inherent in extended family structures may indeed facilitate the acceptance of authority figures of other compliance systems. Moreover, the traditional communal orientation of Tswana culture allows for interference from any member for the good of the collective community (e.g., punishment by teacher for transgressions at home).

School Differences

School differences revealed that children from Tswana-medium schools perceived more intersystem support than parochial and English-medium school children. Tswana-medium school children were also more likely to express a personal liking for the headman and to enforce rules than English-medium school children. In terms of power to punish, English-medium children perceived the teacher as having power to punish more often than parochial school children.

The reported school differences may reflect the differential value systems promoted by the different school settings. Mazrui (1972) argues that a form of "elitist closure" occurs with the monopoly of English-medium schools by the prominent members of the society and the expatriate population for whom the schools were designed. Although the expatriate population enrollment at the English-medium school in Serowe is minimal, the majority of the students are from the more prominent upper class sector of the society. Moreover, this economic advantage permits the child to be placed in the English-medium school which has the highest tuition. This placement provides the child with more exposure to the European language and culture and improves the child's chances of continuing his/her education. Hence, the value system promoted by the English-medium school is more in line with a Western value system which stresses individualism and competition. The values encouraged by the Tswana-medium schools are more in keeping with those of traditional Tswana society; "responsibility, respect for the law, and composure" (Linchwe, 1976). The responses of the children reflect these differences in values. Tswana-medium school children expressed liking for the headman more often than English-medium school children. The headman is a very traditional authority figure who is the leader of the ward. Usually the oldest agnatic descendant of the family composing the ward, he represents the ward at all kgotla (town court) meetings. Adherence to the value of responsibility is further exemplified in differences in response to intersystem support and willingness to enforce rules. Tswana-medium school children perceive all authority figures as supporting each other in punishing noncompliance, i.e., each authority figure has the responsibility of socializing the child. Tswana-medium school children were also more willing to enforce the rules of the authority figures, thereby indicating their responsibility to the authority figures and their responsibility for other children.

A similar pattern emerged in examining the relationship between parental attitudes and childrearing practices and children's perceptions of authority. Children of parents with Western orientations perceived authority figures as having more punitive power than children of parents with a traditional orientation. Children of less punitive parents (those using psychological techniques) express less liking for authority figures than children of more punitive parents. These findings suggest that the move toward more psychological discipline techniques and Western oriented attitudes is related to less liking for authority and stronger perceptions of punitive power.

According to Dawson (1969) parents in transitional societies have the most unresolved conflict about discipline techniques, i.e., whether to use psychological or punitive discipline. The dissonance experienced by the parents may result in inconsistent discipline. This inconsistency may be perceived by the child as coercive and irrational punishment. This perception could cause a breakdown in the child-agent relationship, thereby resulting in dislike for authority.

Interestingly, most parents reported that they used physical discipline. In actuality, very little physical punishment was witnessed during the investigator's stay in Botswana. Moreover, the affect typically associated with physical punishment in Western culture is not characteristic of Tswana culture. Physical punishment serves to instruct the Botswana child rather than as an emotional release for parents.

In conclusion, Tswana society is in a state of flux due to technological and economic transitions. Parents have already begun to complain of loss of respect for authority and increased delinquency as evidenced in petty thefts.

The present study suggests, as Thema (1972) warns, that the indiscriminant adoption of Western ideals (in this case Western childrearing practices) may indeed result in the loss of a stable parent-child relationship.

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The Role of Cultural Salience in Ethnic and Social Class Differences in Cognitive Performance

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Much of the research that deals with the social class and ethnic differences in cognitive performance has been conducted within the cognitive style theoretical framework (cf. Deutsch, 1973). As a construct, cognitive style has been used to refer to stable intra-individual tendencies in the way information is conceptually organized and processed (Goldstein & Blackmun, 1978).

Numbered among the various cognitive styles that have been studied vis a vis social class and ethnicity are the conceptual styles formulated by Kagan, Moss, and Sigel (1963). They delineated three conceptual modes of organization: relational-functional, analytic-descriptive, and categorical-inferential which have been investigated in connection with the kinds of strategies individuals employ on object and picture classification tasks (cf. Kagan, Moss, and Sigel, 1963). In reference to those tasks, relational-functional modes are characterized as those which relate to two stimuli on the basis of their interdependent use of function. Analytic-descriptive modes are defined as ones which use objective physical attributes of stimuli as a rationale for pairing. Finally, categorical inferential modes are extant when an individual combines a pair of pictures or objects on the basis of an inference drawn from the two stimuli.

Social class and ethnic differences in the use of these three conceptual styles or modes or organization on picture and object sorting tasks has been the topic of a series of studies undertaken by Sigel and his associates (e.g., Sigel and Cocking, 1977; Sigel and Olmstead, 1970; Sigel, Anderson and Shapiro, 1966). This line of investigation has produced two major findings: (1) there are social class differences in the extent to which picture and object sorting tasks are treated consistently, and (2) it has been postulated that there are social class differences in preference for strategies that are distinguishable in terms of their inherent levels of objectivity or subjectivity.

Regarding the first finding, Sigel et al., (Sigel, Anderson & Shapiro, 1966) have observed that while the performance of middle-class subjects is consistent across object and picture sorting tasks, lower-class children encounter greater difficulty classifying representational material than they do on object sorting tasks. Sigel (1977) suggests that the problems lower-class children encounter on picture sorting tasks are a function of a lack of experience and competence in dealing with representational material. More specifically, Sigel (1977) posits that the home environments of lower-class children are characterized by a paucity of what he refers to as distancing experiences, which involve differentiation and abstraction. In addition, Sigel aruges that lower-class children tend to rely on conceptual styles that are inherently more subjective (e.g., relational strategies) than the ones used by middle-class children.

This latter position reflected a theme that undergirds Sigel's research, and that of most investigators in this area, i.e., the view that categorical-inferential and descriptive styles are cognitively more sophisticated than relational-functional ones, since the former two strategies are assumed to involve higher levels of differentiation and abstraction than exists in relational-functional modes. Support for this notion is garnered from theories of cognitive development (e.g., Piaget, 1952) which generally maintain that the course of development is one that proceeds from lower to higher levels of differentiation and abstraction. Therefore, individuals or groups that rely upon functional-relational conceptual styles are seen as being less intellectually competent than groups or individuals that make greater use of descriptive and categorical-inferential conceptual styles.

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These inferences regarding the relative sophistication of the three styles, however, have been challenged by recent evidence. Davis (1971) used the Sigel (1967) Cognitive Style Test (SCST) and a version constructed for older subjects (CST) to study developmental trends in the use of the aforementioned styles in a sample of students drawn from 5th, 8th, 11th grades and college. Davis assumed that if the sophistication argument is valid one should find that the use of the more sophisticated styles should increase with age, and correspondingly, use of the less sophisticated ones should decrease with age. Contrarily, Davis found that the use of relational styles (presumed to be the least sophisticated) did not decline with age, but rather was the style that appeared most frequently in the various age groups. In comparison, the descriptive style was used least frequently in all of the age groups.

Another issue that was addressed in Davis' research was the extent to which the notion of cognitive style--i.e., that an individual exhibits the predominant use of one particular mode of classification over others is useful in describing classification behavior. To test this notion, Davis reasoned that if the cognitive style construct is valid individuals should use one type of style more than 59% of the time in their performance. Davis' results demonstrated that only the performance of the youngest subjects met this criterion. For the remaining subjects, the diversity of strategies used in performance increased with age.

Davis'(1971) study, then, has a twofold importance. First, as Kogan (1976) states "it undermines the foregoing value bias" regarding the relative sophistication of categorical-inferential, descriptive, and relational-functional modes of classification. Davis' work calls for a revised conception of the classification behavior, one that recognizes diversity in performance and accounts for factors which might influence changes in the distribution of certain styles in an individual's performance as a function of time or the nature of the stimuli.

In the latter regard, one variable that has been consistently overlooked is the effect the cultural salience of stimuli exerts on the types of strategies individuals employ. Cultural salience is used here to denote experiences or knowledge whose significance is largely culturally determined. More specifically, anthropological studies have shown that there are inter-cultural differences in the significance attached to certain objects, persons, events, and settings, and that these differences arise in conjunction with the kinds of activities that are important to the survival of a culture (cf., Sorenson, 1978). In relation to cognition, cross-cultural investigations of intellectual abilities have demonstrated the relationship that exists between the cultural salience of the materials used to assess an ability and the level of performance that is obtained (cf., Cole & Scribner, 1974). These studies have generally shown that "natives" perform better (differently) on tasks which employ culturally salient stimuli.

For various reasons, the use of culturally salient stimuli when comparing the cognitive abilities of different social class and ethnic groups in this country has not been a central methodological concern. One reason for this condition, no doubt, is that the relationship between social class, ethnicity, and culture remains conceptually unclear. In attempting to empirically address this problem Simmons (1979) investigated the effects of social class and ethnicity in delimiting culturally salient areas of experience. Ninety-six Black and White, lower- and middle-class, fifth and sixth grade boys received a preference rating instrument and a separate frequency of involvement scale. With a few exceptions, both instruments contained a shared list of activities and occupations. Culturally salient areas of experience were operationalized as those which were rated highly in terms of preference and frequency of involvement. On an intuitive basis, certain clusters of activities and occupations were isolated, a priori, for analysis (e.g., games and sports, academic-cultural activities, blue collar occupations, white collar occupations, entertainer-athlete occupations).

The results generally showed that the social class and ethnicity interact to map the bounds of culturally salient experience. Individual comparisons revealed that in most cases the preference and frequency ratings of the Black and White middle-class groups were not significantly different. The same often held for the preference and frequency ratings of the White middle- and lower-class groups, and the Black middle- and lower-class groups. However, sizable differences were found when the preference ratings, at least, of the two lower-class groups were compared. In addition, significant differences occurred when the preference and frequency ratings of the two lower-class groups were compared with those of the middle-class subjects who belonged to another ethnic group. In general, social class appeared to minimize ethnic differences among the middle-class subjects, while heightening them (in terms of the preference ratings) among the lower-class subjects. However, in characterizing the overall pattern of results for each group in terms of frequency and preference ratings, Simmons (1979) concluded that academic-cultural activities and white collar occupations were comparatively more salient to the middle-class subjects; while for the lower-class subjects, games and sports, blue collar and entertainer-athlete occupations had greater salience.

These findings were used to guide the construction of a culturally salient cognitive task that will be described in greater detail elsewhere in this paper.

At this point our conceptual viewpoint regarding the way in which the cultural salience of the content of a cognitive task manifests its effect on performance should be outlined. In recent years, a number of researchers have begun to explore the relationship between stimulus salience and cognitive performance (Odom, Astor & Cunningham, 1975; Carson & Abrahamson, 1976; Hartley, 1976). In general, these studies have demonstrated that the use of salient stimuli enhances performance, whether performance is operationalized in terms of number of errors made, numbers of words recalled, level of recall organization, of use of certain strategies. What is less clear, though, is the manner in which stimulus salience mediates its effect on performance. In this regard, Smothergill and Kraut (1979) have presented some initial evidence which indicates that stimulus or informational salience heightens depth of processing by increasing attention and set. Thus, when an individual is presented with salient as opposed to nonsalient information, he or she is likely to attend more and thus extract more information from the stimulus array which can be used to increase performance.

The research which has just been discussed, though, deals with stimulus salience as an individual variable. As a cultural phenomenon, the salience of stimuli should also serve to enhance performance by affecting attention and set. But in addition, culturally salient stimuli should increase performance for the simple reason that individuals should be in possession of more information about culturally salient kinds of experiences than they are with respect to experiences that are not culturally salient. Information could broaden the range of strategies that an individual could employ vis a vis some task. If one grows up in Minnesota it is likely that one would have a storehouse of snow-related information that a lifelong resident of Texas would be ignorant of. It is hypothesized then that:

1. The cultural salience of task stimuli will have a significant effect on group differences in performance.

2. By virtue of increased attentiveness and depth of processing, tasks which are high in cultural salience should engender the use of a wider range of strategies than those which are low in cultural salience.

Methodology Section

Subjects

The participants in this study were 112 fifth and sixth grade boys belonging to four social class and ethnic groups: Black middle-class (BM), White middle-class (WM), Black lower-class (BL), and White lower-class (WL). There were 28 subjects in each social class ethnic group. Social class level was determined by information obtained from subject interviews and school records. This information was applied to the Reiss (1961) scale which assigns a social class rating based upon parent's income, education, and occupation. The means and standard deviations for each social class group, as derived from the Reiss scale are presented in Table 1. These

Table 1

Reiss Scale Occupational Means and Standard Deviations

		Low-income	Middle-income
Black	$\bar{X}$	12.13	41.32
	SD	5.58	13.41
White	$\bar{X}$	15.70	48.03
	SD	6.02	15.73

White middle-class groups than exists in the lower-class groups. The social class means and standard deviations also demonstrate that at each social class level, the White subjects, as a group, are somewhat better off than their Black counterparts.

Two instruments were used to assess cognitive performance: The Sigel (1967) Cognitive Style Test (SCST) and a modification of the SCST referred to as the Simmons (1979) Test. Both instruments contain 18 trials with each trial comprised of a triad of pictures, drawings, or a combination of the two types of stimuli. Black and white horizontally juxtaposed pictures or drawings were exclusively used on the SCST (e.g., drawings of a boy, drawing of a house, picture of a toy dog). The Simmons Test, however, was constructed using color pictures and drawings as well as ones that were black and white. In addition, the positioning of the pictures and drawings on the Simmons Test varied from trial to trial.

The major difference between the two tests, though, is in the presumed cultural salience of the pictures and drawings. Of the 18 trials on the Simmons Test, six contain pictures that were salient to the Black and White middle-class subjects (MC trials), six which were salient to the lower class subjects (LC trials), and six which were not particularly salient to either group, referred to as the Neutral trials (N trials). The order of the three sets of subtrials was randomized such that N stimuli appeared on trials 1, 3, 6, 8, 12, and 16. Trials 2, 4, 7, 9, 10, and 14 were salient to the middle-class subjects, and trials 5, 11, 13, 15, 17, and 18 were salient to the lower-class subjects. An example of a MC subtrial is one where there were pictures of a doctor, a football player, and a businessman. One of the LC subtrials depicted a construction worker, an auto mechanic, and an automobile. With respect to the N trials, one was comprised of pictures of a smiling old man playing a violin, a Philippine woman laughing, and an unhappy Japanese girl.

Procedure

A scoring manual accompanying the Sigel test outlines a coding scheme which categorizes the major types of sorting rationales. The manual defines three general kinds of strategies: descriptive, relational, and categorical. For each of the three general types of strategies seven subtypes are defined (see Sigel, 1967). Thus, a response can be coded in reference to one of the three general classes of strategies, and in respect to one of the subclasses within the general class. The general procedures outlined in the manual for coding responses were strictly followed for coding the data on both the Simmons and Sigel Tests.

The manual also provides a set of instructions for administering the SCST. In the presentation of both tests, however, we departed from the instructions in two major ways. Instead of asking the subjects to give their responses in written form, as stated in the instructions, we allowed the subjects to answer verbally. This was done to eliminate differences in writing skills as a factor mediating subjects' performance. Secondly, Sigel's instructions allow 75 seconds per trial for each subject. We eliminated the time constraint as a mechanism that favors faster individuals over those that proceed more slowly.

All of the subjects were tested twice individually. The Sigel and Simmons tests were given in separate sessions with the order of presentation of the two instruments counterbalanced. The two sessions were conducted approximately one week apart for all of the subjects.

After the initial instructions were given, each trial was begun by asking the subject to describe each picture on the trial and to select the two pictures that go together. After a pair was chosen the subject was asked to give a reason for his choice. After the first reason was given, the subject was asked if he could provide another. In an effort to exhaust a subject's response repetoire, this question was repeated until a subject responded by saying that there were no other reasons, or until a subject gave three successive descriptive responses (a tendency that was revealed in pilot testing).

Upon meeting one of the criteria for completing a picture pair on a trial, a subject was asked if there were any other pictures on the trial that went together and if so, why? If another pair was selected then the above procedure for giving reasons was repeated. If not, the subject was moved to another trial.

Results

Cognitive performance is operationalized in reference to the use of relational, descriptive, and categorical sorting strategies in response to the demands of the Sigel and Simmons tests. As stated previously, descriptive strategies are ones that make reference to physical attributes of stimuli as a basis for comparison. Relational strategies are ones which group stimuli on the basis of their interdependent use or function. Categorical responses exist when stimuli are grouped to an unseen attribute or an inferred characteristic.

The subjects' responses were coded by the investigator and two other raters. The inter-rater reliability coefficients are presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Inter-rater Reliability Coefficients for Relational, Descriptive, and Categorical Reasons

	First Coder*	Second Coder
Principal Investigator	.84	.88
First Coder*		.87

*Coder that was aware of investigator's hypotheses.

None of the disagreements between the raters occurred in respect to whether or not a response belonged to one or another of the three major classes. The majority of disagreements between raters occurred in assigning a response to one of the seven subclasses of relational reasons. However, this factor did not play a major role in the analysis since in following Sigel's recommendations all of the relational responses were pooled for analysis.

Sigel, however, does recommend conducting separate analyses of most of the subclasses of descriptive and categorical responses. We decided, though, to let subject use dictate the subclasses that would be analyzed.

In this light, descriptive, two reasons which focus on delineating physical attributes of stimuli-were used far more frequently than any other kind of response in this general category, and were therefore the only subclass in this category that was subjected to an analysis for group differences in usage. As previously mentioned, all of the relational reasons were pooled for analysis since Sigel's (1967) research suggests that none of the subclasses of relational reasons is used frequently enough to justify separate tests. For categorical reasons, subclasses 2, 3, 6, and 7 were pooled for analysis following Sigel's recommendations. These subclasses represent reasons that deal with a common class or attribute, a moral or aesthetic judgment, reference to an unseen feature, or a statement of intrinsic worth or value.

In analyzing the data, the first set of tests were done to assess the effect of social class, ethnicity, and the cultural salience of the cognitive tasks on group differences in the kinds of reasons given for sorting stimuli. Three 2 (Simmons vs. Sigel) X 2 (Black vs. White) X 2 (Middle-class vs. Lower-class) analyses of variance were done to assess the effect of ethnicity, social class, and cultural salience of the tasks on the use of relational, descriptive, and categorical reasons. Our expectations were that social class and/or ethnic differences in the use of relational, descriptive, and categorical reasons would be obtained on the Sigel test but not on the Simmons instrument. We thus expected to obtain a series of ethnicity X test and/or social class X test interaction in directions that would support the hypotheses.

The analysis of variance of the group means for use of relational reasons shown in Figure 1 resulted in significant main effects for social class (f=5.13, df=1 & 104, p. .026) and the cultural salience of test, (f=42.62, df=1 & 104, p .001). Figure 1 shows that across both tests the lower-class subjects tend to make greater use of relational reasons

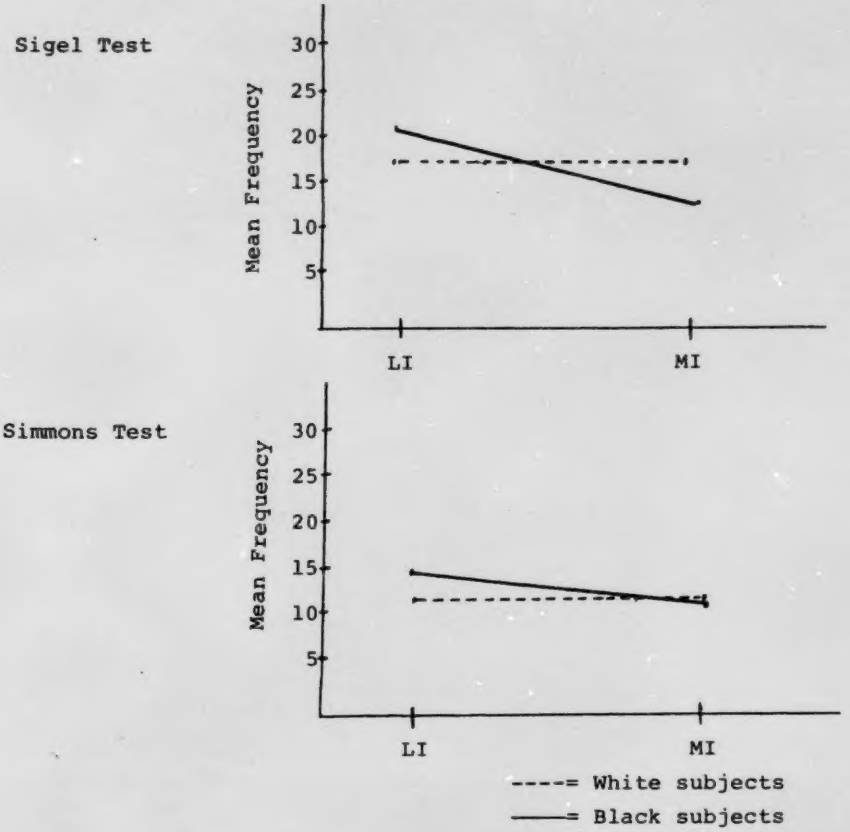

Figure 1. Mean Frequency of Relational Reasons on Sigel and Simmons Tests.

as compared to the middle-class group. The significant cultural salience of test effect found here and in following analyses will not be discussed due to the contaminating influence of between-test variations in the size, color, and positioning of the pictures. Relative to the hypotheses, our primary interests are in social class X test and/or ethnicity X test interactions in the predicted directions.

Returning to the analysis of group differences in the use of relational reasons, a significant ethnicity X social class interaction (F-7.40, df=1 & 104, p .008) was also found demonstrating that (see Figure 1) social class has little impact on the use of relational reasons by the White subjects; while having a sizable effect on the use of relational reasons in the Black group of subjects. In the latter instance, the Black lower-class boys make greater use of relational reasons than their middle-class counterparts.

Figure 2 depicts the mean use of descriptive reasons in the four groups. The analysis here resulted in a main effect for social class (f=5.41, df=1 & 104, p .022), an ethnicity X social class interaction (f=17.61, df=1 & 104, p .001), and a social class X test interaction (f=6.92, df=1 & 104, p .01). Returning to Figure 2, the main effect for social class shows that the lower-class subjects make significantly greater use of descriptive reasons in comparison to the middle-class subjects. The ethnicity X social class interaction is accounted for by the fact that among the lower-class subjects, the Blacks make greater use of descriptive reasons, while the reverse is true in the middle-class group. Figure 2 also reveals that on the Simmons test the lower-class group's use of descriptive reasons outdistances that of the middle-class subjects. But on the Sigel test, there appears to be no appreciable social class difference in use of descriptive reasons.

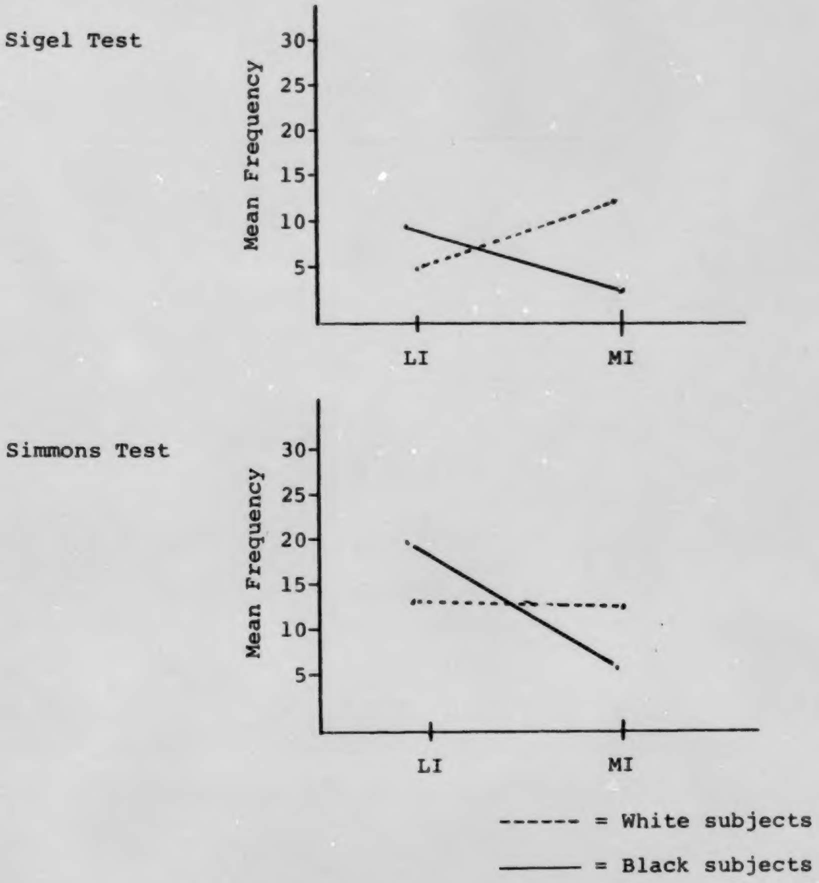

Figure 2. Mean Frequency of Descriptive Reasons on Sigel and Simmons Tests.

In the test performed on the mean differences (See Figure 3) in the use of categorical reasons, we again hoped to obtain significant social class or ethnicity X test interactions. A social class main effect (f=4.60, df=1 & 104, p .036) and a highly significant ethnicity X test interaction (f=10.10, df=1 & 104, p .002) were found. Referring to Figure 3, across both tests the middle-class make relatively greater use of categorical reasons. But as expected, the ethnicity X test interaction demonstrates that on the Sigel Test the White subjects use more categorical reasons than the Blacks, whereas on the Simmons Test the ethnic performance differences are reversed in favor of the Black subjects.

In summarizing the results, thus far the data reveal overall, that the lower-class subjects tend to use more relational reasons than the middle-class ones. Within the lower-class group though, the Black subjects use more relational reasons than their White counterparts, while the reverse is true for the middle-class subjects. In reference to the use of descriptive reasons, it was found that, in general, the lower-class subjects also make greater use of this type of classification strategy. In addition, it was again revealed that in the lower-class group the Blacks make more use of this strategy with the reverse occurring in the middle-class group. It was also the case that on the Sigel test there were no appreciable social class differences in the use of descriptive reasons. But consistent with the hypotheses, on the Simmons test the lower-class boys' use of descriptive reasons was greater than that occurring in the middle-class group. Finally, the test performed on the mean differences in the use of categorical strategies showed that while overall the White subjects tend to make greater use of this type of reason, on the Simmons test the use of categorical reasons by the Black subjects was greater than that found for the White subjects.

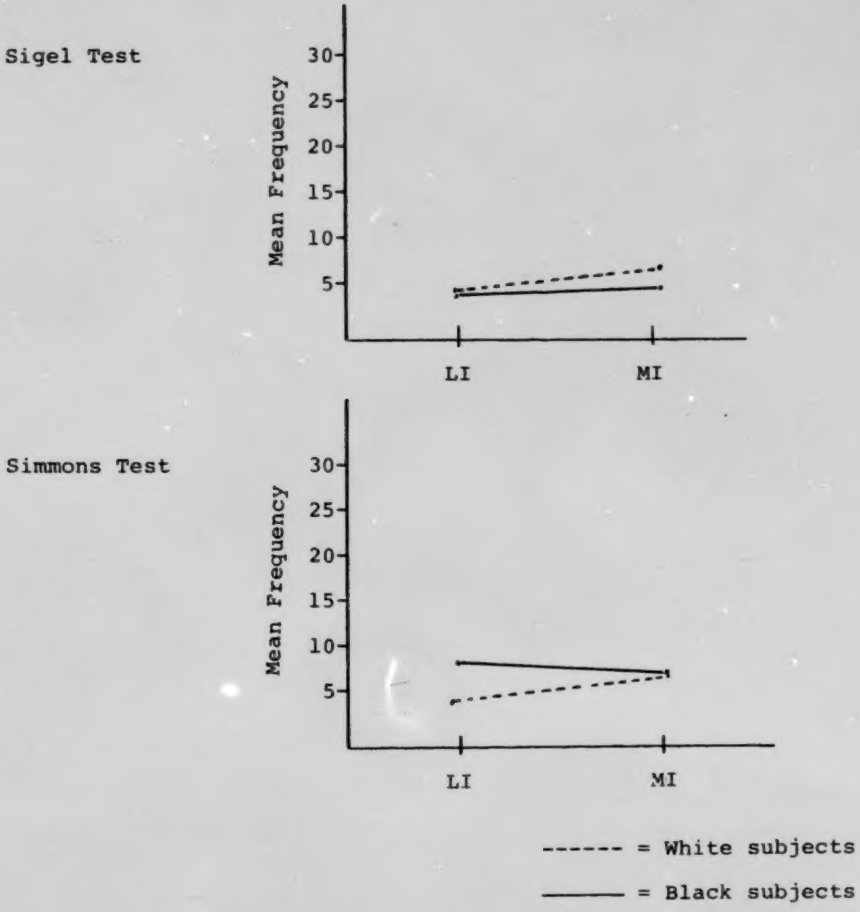

Figure 3. Mean Frequency of Categorical Reasons on Sigel and Simmons Tests.

The hypothesis that variation in the cultural salience of the two tests is largely responsible for the observed group differences in performance was further tested by conducting a series of analyses which compared the relative effects of social class, ethnicity, and the cultural salience of the three sets of subtrials on the Simmons Test on group differences in the use of relational, descriptive, and categorical sorting strategies. Recall that the Simmons Test was comprised of a set of subtrials which was salient to the lower-class subjects (LC subtrials), a set that was salient to the middle-class (MC subtrials) group, and a set of subtrials that was neutral in salience (N subtrials). Thus, three separate 3 X (subtrials) 2 X (social class), 2 (ethnicity) analyses of variance were performed to assess the effects of subtrial salience (MC, LC, or N), social class (middle-lower), and ethnicity (Black-White) on the use of relational, descriptive, and categorical reasons, with particular attention being paid to social class X subtrial and/or ethnicity X subtrial interactions in connection with the hypotheses.

Figure 4 represents the mean use of relational reasons for each social class and ethnic group on the LC, MC, and N subtrials. The analysis done

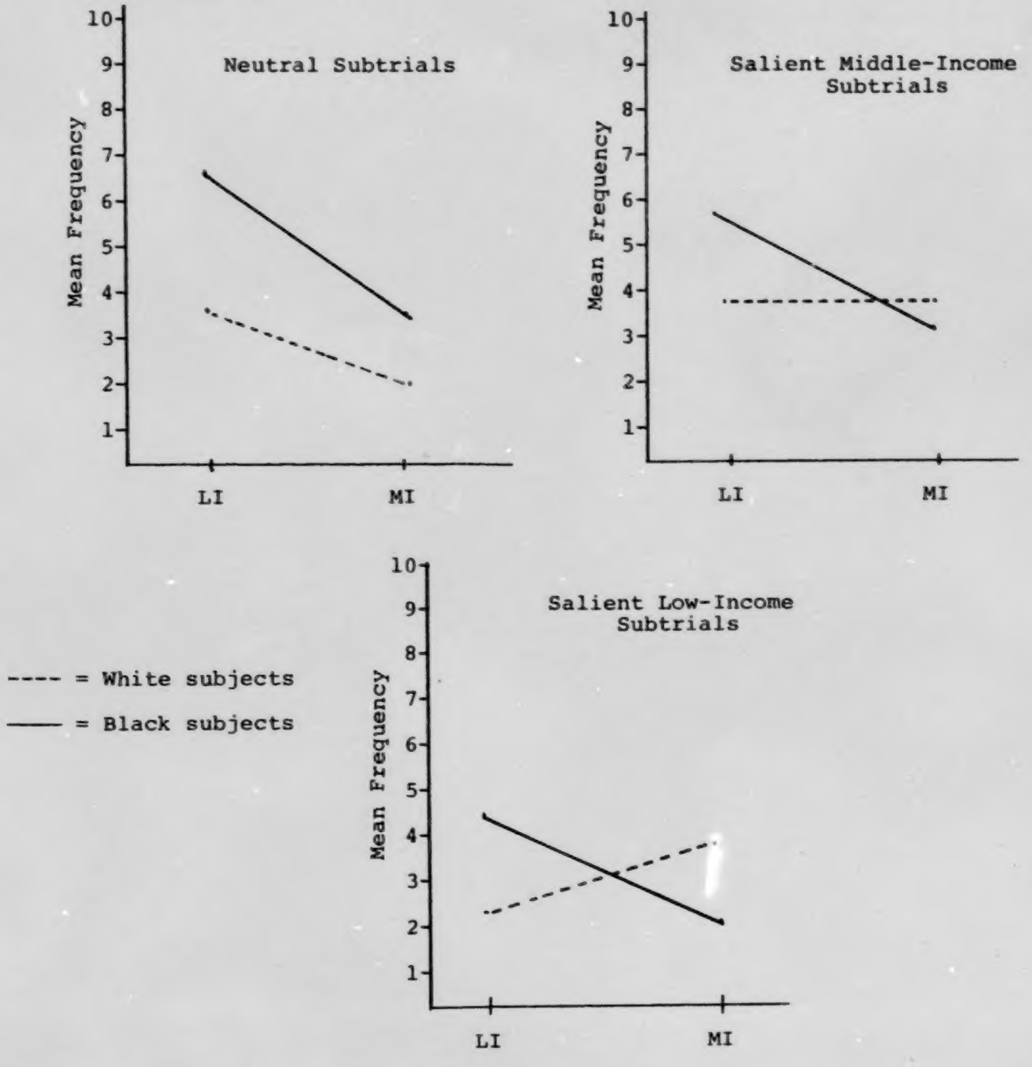

Figure 4. Mean Frequency of Relational Reasons on Simmons Test Subtrials

on these data resulted in three significant main effects and interactions. A significant ethnicity effect (f=5.91, df=1 & 104, p .009) also showed that, on the whole, the lower-class subjects' use of relational reasons exceeded that found in the middle-class group. Finally, with respect to the main effects, a greater number of relational reasons was used on the N and MC subtrials as compared to the LC subtrials as reflected in the significant subtrial effect (f=3.10, df=1 & 104, p .009).

Of the three significant interactions that were found, an ethnicity X social class interaction (f=8.82, df=1 & 104, p .004) is interpreted (see Figure 4) as demonstrating that within the lower-class group the Blacks make relatively greater use of relational reasons, while the opposite obtains in the middle-class group. The remaining 2 interactions conflict with the hypotheses in that an ethnicity X subtrial interaction effect (f=5.48, df=2 & 104, p .0005) demonstrates that on N and MC subtrials the Black subjects make greater use of relational reasons than they do on the LC subtrials. In addition, a significant social class X subtrial interaction (f=3.16, df=2 & 104), p .045) indicates the the lower-class subjects show a greater reliance on relational reasons on N and MC subtrials as compared to the subtrials that are salient to their own group.

The analysis of group differences in the use of descriptive reasons, however, did not lend much credence to the hypotheses. In this case, a significant social class effect (f=5.41, df=1 & 104, p .022), the lower-class subjects' use of descriptive reasons was greater than that found in the middle-class group (see Figure 5). In addition, as in previous

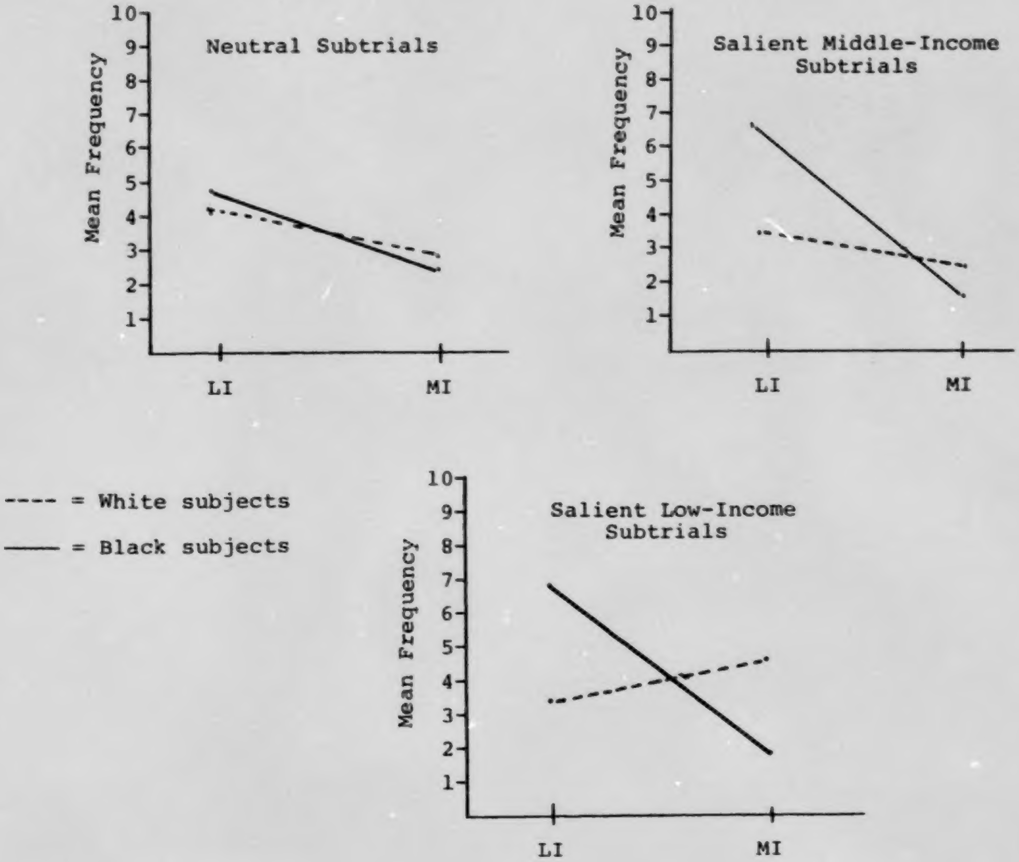

Figure 5. Mean Frequency of Descriptive Reasons on Simmons Test Subtrials.

instances, a social class X ethnicity interaction (f=7.99, df=2 & 104, p .006) showed that within the lower-class group the Black subjects used more descriptive reasons, whereas in the middle-class group the White subjects made the greatest use of this type of sorting strategy.

Figure 6 depicts the group differences in the mean use of categorical reasons on N, MC, and LC subtrials. The analysis performed on this data demonstrated that there were no significant social class or ethnic differences in the use of this classification strategy on the Simmons Test as a whole. However, a significant social class X ethnicity interaction (f=3.95, df=1 & 104, p .05) reveals that though the White subjects make greater use of this type of strategy in the middle-class group, in the lower-class group the Black subjects use this type of reason more frequently. Favorable support for the hypotheses, though, is found in the significant social class subtrial interaction (f=10.30, df=2 & 104, p .001) and an ethnicity X subtrial interaction (f-18.10, df=2 & 104, p .001) that were obtained. Referring to Figure 6, the social class X subtrial interaction reveals that on the N subtrials there are no appreciable social class differences in the use of categorical reasons. But on the MC subtrials, performance differences occur in favor of the middle-class subjects as predicted. Likewise, on the LC subtrials differences in the use of categorical reasons occur in favor of the lower-class subjects. A similar pattern is evidenced vis a vis interpreting the ethnicity X subtrial interaction that exists. In this instance, on the N subtrials there were no sizable ethnic differences to speak of. However, on the MC subtrials the White subjects make comparatively greater use of categorical reasons as compared to the Black subjects. But on the LC subtrials, the Black subjects show a greater reliance on this type of strategy than is the general case for the White subjects.

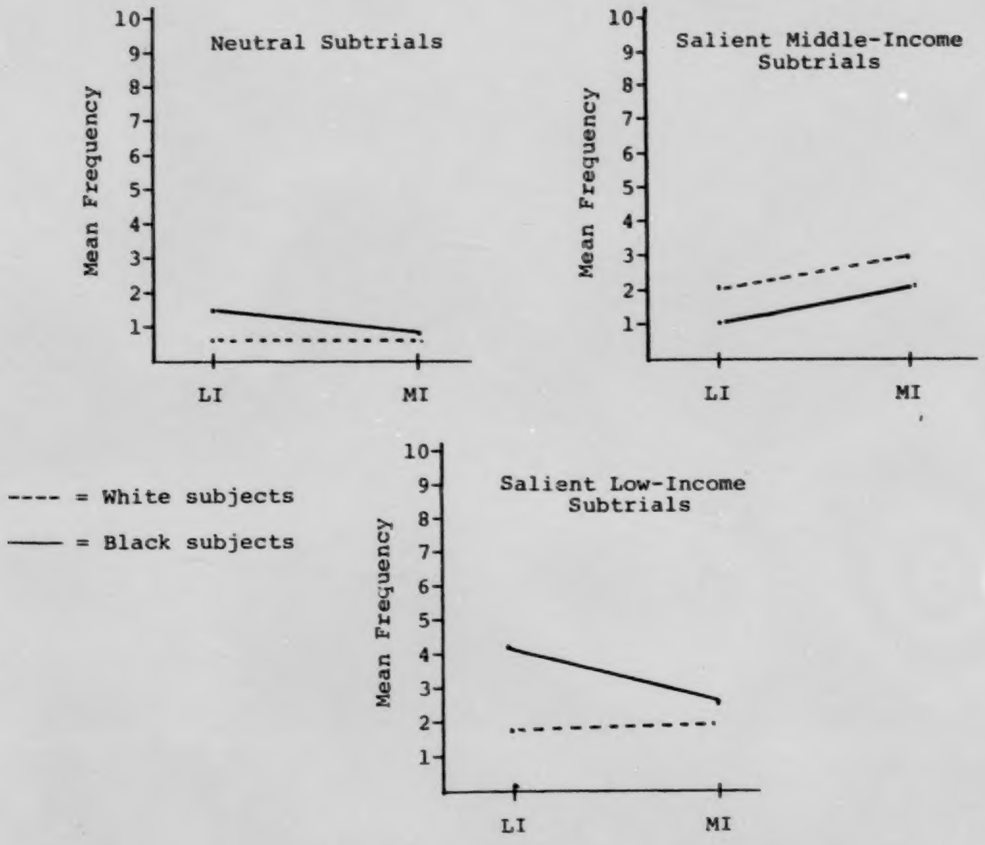

Figure 6. Mean Frequency of Categorical Reasons on Simmons Test Subtrials.

Discussion

Before any comments are made regarding the implications of these results, the limits of the data's generality should be pointed out. First of all, the entire sample was comprised of males, as was the sample of an earlier study used to establish the bounds of culturally salient experience. Therefore, the level at which social class and ethnic differences in culturally salient experiences exist in females at this age level is left open to question. Moreover, even if it were established that culturally salient experiences are differentiated along social class and ethnic lines for females, one could not then assume that the existence of these differences has the same implication for cognitive performance as they do in males. Finally, the subjects in this study all resided in New York City. The degree to which these findings are replicable in other regions of the country is a question for future research.

With these comments aside, we can now turn our attention to the import of the data. The Sigel-Simmons tests comparisons and the comparisons of the social class and/or ethnicity X test interactions would confirm the hypotheses. That is, we expected to find that individuals would use more descriptive, categorical, and relational reasons on the test or subtrials that were salient for their group, especially in regard to categorical reasons, since it was held that the use of this type of reason is more dependent upon the amount of information one possesses vis a vis a pair of stimuli.

In the Sigel-Simmons tests comparisons, the results generally confirmed our hypotheses except in the analyses of relational reasons. For the most part, the Black group and the lower-class subjects tended to use more descriptive and categorical reasons on the Simmons Test as compared to Sigel's instrument. The assertion that the cultural salience of the stimuli accounts for these findings receives further support in the comparisons of subjects' performance on the subtrials of the Simmons Test. In reference to the use of categorical reasons, the results clearly show that the middle-class and White subjects tend to increase their use of this type of reason on the MC subtrials, whereas the Black and lower-class subjects use of this strategy increased on the LC subtrials. Consistent with expectations, categorical reasons were used less frequently by all the groups on the N subtrials, a result we attribute to the relative lack of salience on these trials.

The test performed on group variations in the use of descriptive reasons on the Simmons Test subtrials did not provide confirmation of the hypotheses.

The findings in connection with the use of relational reasons on the Simmons Test subtrials raise some rather interesting questions, however, with respect to the hypotheses. Our expectations were that individuals would use more relational reasons on the subtrials that were salient to their own particular groups. The results reveal that just the opposite occurs--i.e., individuals use more relational reasons on the subtrials that are relatively low in salience for their particular group. This suggests that stimuli that are high in cultural salience serve to increase the use of descriptive and categorical reasons, while decreasing the use of relational strategies. In view of the hypothesis that culturally salient stimuli engender the use of a wider range of strategies, it is not surprising that this phenomenon should occur. One of the ways in which classification behavior can become more mixed is for certain strategies to be used more while others are used less. What is less easy to explain are the factors that account for the increase or decrease in the use of particular strategies.

In this regard, it would seem likely that the amount of information that an individual possesses concerning the stimuli is of central importance in determining the kinds of classification strategies that he or she will use. It is probable that individuals possess more information vis a vis stimuli which are high in cultural salience, as opposed to those that are not since both culturally salient and culturally-shared knowledge can be called upon in the former instance, while in the latter case, only culturally-shared knowledge can be used to assist classification. A content analysis of the relational reasons used on the low salience subtrials (in reference to certain groups) might reveal the use of culturally-shared kinds of information above that used on subtrials that were salient.

It is plausible to assume, then, that stimuli that are low in cultural salience elicit the use of cognitive strategies that rely upon culturally shared information (in this case relational strategies) or that focus on perceptual attributes. When confronted with culturally salient stimuli, however, the individual's reservoir of information is augmented by knowledge that is specific to his or her own culture, in addition to information that is generally available. For this reason, performance on tasks which are high in cultural salience for a particular group, then, should be characterized by a greater mix of classification strategies than is found on tasks which are low in cultural salience. These notions, though, will have to be addressed in future research.

What is clear in these data, however, is that the cultural salience of stimuli does significantly impact social class and ethnic differences in performance. During the course of this experiment, it also became apparent that factors other than the cultural salience of the stimuli influence social class and ethnic differences in performance. Unfortunately, these additional factors were not analyzed in a systematic fashion and are thus anecdotal in nature. But during the course of running this experiment, the investigator was confronted with distinct social class differences in response styles which, if ignored, could have led to results that would have been quite different from the ones reported. Specifically, the middle-class and lower-class subjects response to the task environment was quite different. The middle-class subjects exhibited more of what may be called self-regulatory behavior; that is, they were more willing to accept the investigator's premise of the task, for the time being at least, and proceed to work on the task while attempting to keep the investigator's involvement to a minimum. This response style, in effect, led the middle-class subjects to give the pair of pictures that go together and the reason for their choice. Even when the investigator made it clear that it was acceptable to select other pairs and give more reasons, the middle-class subjects largely resisted changing their response orientation.

In sharp contrast, when the lower-class subjects were queried as to whether or not there were any other reasons for putting a pair of pictures together, or if there were any other pictures that belonged together, by and large, they responded by giving another reason or finding two other pictures to go together, even when they had already exhausted the set of possibilities for pairing pictures. It was as though they interpreted the investigator's question as a demand rather than a query.

It is not difficult to come up with reasons that would explain these observed social class differences in response styles. Since the testing sessions were conducted within the schools, the context remained an academic one. In this sense, the middle-class students were in a testing situation that was similar to others in which they have received a greater number of positive reinforcements, as compared to their lower-class counterparts (cf. Rist, 1973). Thus, they are more likely to have greater confidence in their responses. For the lower-class subjects, the academic context is one in which they have received a good deal of negative reinforcement (cf. Rist, 1973), resulting in their having less confidence in their answers and making them more likely to seek direction and feedback of correctness or incorrectness from the investigator. Had this investigator not made adjustments in the procedures that would minimize these differences, the performance outcomes would have been very different from those which were finally obtained.

In conclusion, the results of this study and the accompanying observations reveal that the use of classification strategies on picture tasks is dependent on factors other than individual competence, factors which have to do with the cultural nature of the task stimuli and social class and ethnic differences in response to an experimental context. More work needs to be done to specify and delineate culturally salient areas of experience from culturally shared ones in a more refined manner. In addition, more attention needs to be directed toward the experiment as a context, and the extent to which this unique setting elicits behavior that mediates task performance and behavior that is generalizable or non-generalizable to other settings (for a discussion of this issue see Cole, Hood, and McDermott, 1978).

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The Extended Kin Network and Socialization of Children in Upwardly Mobile Black Families

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Socialization of Black children is not an easy task, even in middle-class homes. In addition to the normal joys and strains of child rearing, the Black parent faces a multitude of additional tasks that they must perform as they prepare their children for adulthood. Traditionally the extended family and the closed Black community has formed a protective shield around the family members. As families become geographically mobile, and some economically mobile, the domestic unit's sources and forms of support may change. In order to empirically examine the role that the extended family help network plays in the mainteinance of stability in the socialization of upwardly mobile families, this research project was designed. The theoretical orientation of the project was two-fold: (1) that the socialization of children in Black families differs from other families because of their nonsupportive wider environment, and (2) that the extended kin network facilitates upward mobility.

The conceptual framework for the study was provided by the necessarily defensive reflection of the positive cultural aspects of Black life (Billingsley, 1968; Hill, et al., 1971). We are now at the point in our theoretical development where I felt that we should empirically examine the identified supportive components of Black life, such as the role of extended family and the Black church. The study began with the theoretical hypothesis that the support provided by the extended kin network patterns, found so often in Black families, would facilitate upward mobility of their younger members. The assumption was made that if extended family patterns were functional and supportive, they would be found at all economic class levels and over different stages of upward mobility over generations. Another assumption was that the kin help patterns were not simply coping mechanisms that are used in poverty and discarded when families are no longer poor, but were cultural patterns that were supportive regardless of mobility pattern or status. This study was designed because no empirical studies on Black middle class have been found in the literature. The result has been that gaps are left in our knowledge of this segment of Black families, a gap that has been closed with a writers' own personal experiences or biases. There are a variety of reasons why the Black middle-class has been ignored. Many Black researchers have felt that poverty-related problems are so pervasive that energies should be concentrated where the need is greatest, while non-blacks have tended to distort or ignore all Black families, in a perpetuation of stereotypes that have matched the wider societal view of Black families.

One of the most difficult concepts for writers about Black families to grasp is that of the diversity that exists among the Black families. For whatever reason, repeated attempts are made to describe Blacks as fitting into only one mode. This lack of the awareness of diversity is probably the most insidious form of discrimination that is imposed upon all minority group members. I have confronted this element continuously over the last five years as I have concentrated upon one element within the range of Black families: those who are upwardly mobile. Because of the concentration of research effort on poor Black families, our study is the only ongoing empirical examination of economically secure Black families (McAdoo, 1978).

Surprisingly enough, wider media coverage is now being given just at a point in our history when the actual proportion of middle-class Blacks is decreasing in relation to whites. There has been an unusual interest shown recently in the Black middle-class in the press (Roberts, New York Times, cover article 12/3/78; Caldwell 1978, Coombs 1978, West 1978). The reason for such coverage has been questioned by many observers. One explanation

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that has been given is it is being done to mold public opinion. With the predicted economic slow-down, in which social services may have to be drastically cut, the emphasis is now being placed on the Black middle-class, even though they represent only 7-10 percent of Blacks. If the general population feels that Blacks have "made it" and are living middle-class lifestyles, then it will be easier to reduce services, affirmative actions, and supportive educational programs without public censure. The Black underclass would then be allowed to drift out of the public's consciousness. One feature that these writers, almost all of whom are non-black, have emphasized is the frictions that are growing between the have and the have-nots. To date no empirical studies have addressed this topic, but articles repeatedly emphasize this point.

Review of Literature

The study of the Black family has gone through many stages: by being denied an existence, being viewed as pathological and disorganized, by being defended, by cross-cultural comparisons, and lately, by having race ignored as a variable in preference to class and individual initiative. For the past ten years we have clearly been going through a revisionist phase of the study of Black family life and socialization. Several reviews (English 1974; Aschenbrenner, 1975; Nobles, 1974; Scanzoni, 1977), and empirical or historical studies (Jones, 1965; Heiss, 1975; Hill, 1975; Gutman, 1976; Nobles 1976 and Chase, 1977) have been conducted to critically examine some of the conceptions about the Black family. The weight of information on Black families is only now having a faint impact on how Blacks are viewed in the social science literature. Throughout all of these stages usually only one segment has been studied: those who are under the greatest economic stress.

Every few years one will find articles that try to find out "if the Black middle-class families are still as bad as they used to be." The assumption accepted without challenge, often apparently by both Black and white writers, is that of this same negative image. In the past six months I have been interviewed for four such feature article series. I have been repeatedly asked if my data supported or refuted Frazier's (1939) earlier findings. I have been unable to simply answer yes or no. If the answer is yes, it would be an acceptance of a rather simplistic negative view. If I say no, the negative image is still accepted but the interpretation is that "progress" has been made.

Another alternative would be to attack Frazier's work, which I cannot do because of its merits. My response has generally been that it is very important to interpret Frazier's work within the context in which it was written. We must remember he was working within a totally different time-period of our society. Frazier's sample was limited to northern cities, with severe racial, residential and educational isolation, segregation, and lack of Black educational institutions. One must remember that in the segregated society that existed, with no admissions allowed to theatres, restaurants, parks, or schools, the only social life possible was that provided by themselves within their homes. Therefore, the social life and the decoration of their homes, within the Black inner city, was the only outlet of disposable income provided to Blacks of that era. The results, to some extent, reflected the sites. If his sample had included more southern sites, where most Blacks lived, an additional element could have been tapped. These southern Blacks were associated with the Black public schools and colleges in the south and may have reflected additional diversity that existed at that time, that was unavailable in the northern sample.

It must be remembered that Frazier's work evolved from his doctoral research at a leading white institution, where he had to meet the criteria of a white faculty and later, colleagues, all of whom had their prevailing images. In addition, he also had to meet the needs of the publishers. If any of you are familiar with the problems associated with getting a publisher for Black-oriented research, you can only imagine the situation in the 1930's. It would have been impossible to get anything published that contained any other view of the Black family.

When Frazier's works are viewed within their proper context of the situation of the Black community and white value systems, it is impossible to make a simplistic summary of his work. Unfortunately, too many writers only read certain parts and focus on only these parts. There is a great richness of data and value found when his total works are examined.

Frazier outlined two distinct segments of the Black middle-class: the "traditional Black middle-class" and the "black bourgeoisie." The tradiionalists were those Blacks who, through frugality, abstentation, and industry, were able to receive the education that allowed them to become teachers, preachers, or doctors early in the 1900's. They lived with great attention to morality and maintenance of conservative appearances. Some were descendants of freemen, freed men, or house slaves. Others were newly mobile who sought and gained entry into the upper crust of Black society. Family contacts and education were often just as important, or more so, than money. These traditional middle-class Blacks, according to Frazier, attempted to conform to the tradition of gentleness and manners. There was often a strong identification with the poorer Black masses, for rigid educational and residential segregation prevented a physical or emotional removal from the Black community that may be possible today. Some of these two or three generation middle-class families still exist today. These families produced many of the leaders in civil rights, education and community leadership in later generations. There was a strong pride in Black achievement. They do not seek publicity, in fact, they may shun it, and for this reason they are not picked up by the media coverages. Their very invisibility had contributed to the view that the middle-class strata has just come into existence.

The second wave of middle-class Blacks, according to Frazier, arrived during the early 1940's and 50's. This group was mobile into middle-class based on the acquisition of money alone. This caused a break from the more traditional old-line family values. A class and value conflict often was found between the two groups. The gradual loosening of the rigid segregation was seen as resulting in a breaking down of the strong identification with the larger Black underclass. This second group comprised Frazier's notorious "black bourgeoisie." These families often were more flamboyant with their possessions and were viewed by the wider society as often ostentatious. Blacks were seen as having "made it" when they have a high level of consumption or when they became as assimilated as possible into white society. Some middle-class Blacks were out-group oriented and felt embarrassed by their blackness. The mode selected to obtain mobility often was to assimilate. This move was supported by the wider white environment that saw no value in Black culture or achievement. Many Blacks felt that if they acted, dressed, and went to school with whites, they would eventually be accepted and treated fairly by them. This group has received much wider media coverage and, therefore, became projected as the only middle-class Blacks in existence. The failure of their dream led to the next movement within the Black community.

A third wave of movement in the Black community occurred in the 1960's and 1970's during the civil rights and the Black consciousness movements. The civil rights thrust was to open legal barriers so Blacks could have the right to wider opportunity. Because of the double-bind of discrimination and limited opportunities, often those who benefitted most from the movement were those who were upwardly mobile, in spite of wide community support of these efforts. Adults who knew it was too late for them still marched with the hope that life would be better for their children. The leaders, the children of both the traditionalist and the black bourgeoisie, came from community churches and Black colleges.

The Black consciousness movement grew out of the frustration of the interracial experiences during the civil rights attempts and resulted in a reevaluation of pervasive current out-group orientation. The awakened Black consciousness was not new, rather it grew from the values of earlier Black movements and their strong community identification and race pride. Surprisingly, many of these activists were college and graduate students who were children of the older traditional classes. Changes began on first an emotional level of group pride and identification, then to the reassertion of African-American continuities, and a growing own-group orientation. The process that almost all Black intellectuals experienced during that period has been called a "convergence experience" by Cross (1974).

A period of intense activity ensued that broke out in many forms. One such thrust was the growing number of Black researchers who attempted to destroy some of the current myths by conceptualizing the strengths found in the Black community. Other researchers (Nobels, et al., 1974) went on to look for African carryovers to attack the myth that Black families were void of all culture, while cultured remnants in other ethnic groups were widely accepted. In addition, the "self-hatred" hypothesis in which Black children were seen as hating themselves and their racial group, and having low self-concepts, was tested repeatedly and found lacking (McAdoo, J., 1974).

Class Status and Upward Mobility

The traditional status attainment models are of limited relevance to Blacks in general because of their near exclusive focus on SES (Allen, 1976). Class status in the wider community is usually based upon education, occupation and financial achievements and/or birth into a family with established status. According to Scanzoni (1971) the traditional interaction between race and social class has resulted in a Black ethnic subsociety or ethclass. Being Black has become synonomous with lower class status. Blacks with equal educational status receive few rewards because of discrimination against their ethnic group. In other words, achievement of all the trappings of middle-class society (education, occupation, money) will not bring comparable "pay-offs" because of institutional and economic racism.

The same status criteria are also found in the Black community, with additions that are the result of the history of this ethnic group. Lack of access to the status-giving institutions in the past resulted in a Black caste-like status system superimposed upon the larger status pyramid. For Blacks the line between social classes was drawn much lower. Statuses that would have been middle-class in white communities were regarded as upper-class in the Black, for jobs that allowed a feeling of power, mobility, and freedom from hard physical work were considered higher in status. Gradually, with the increase of wider opportunities, the caste system expanded until it became more similar to the white status groupings.

In addition to the standard SES determinants, the legacy of slavery left an additional layer of unique status criteria. Skin color and hair type in the past has been a major intra-group divisive factor. Status in the community and choice of marriage partners have been impacted by these criteria. Preferences for white-oriented physical attributes has been strong in the past and is reportedly decreasing, although no studies have adequately addressed this issue.

While historically influential, the proportion of Black middle-class remains small. According to reports from the Bureau of the Census (1978), the proportion of Black middle-class families earning $25,000 or more, has increased from 1 percent in 1969 to 7 percent in 1976. In 1976, Black families as a group, had a median income of $9,252, an increase of 105 percent since 1966. It still is only 60 percent of the average white family income of $15,537, and poverty in Blacks is three times that for whites. Blau and Duncan (1962) have maintained that the more education the Black male receives, the more disadvantaged he becomes when compared to whites of similar education. Therefore, there is less incentive to make the sacrifices that are greater for Blacks. While Blacks have advanced, whites have moved even further. This is in direct contrast with Wilson (1978) who states that race has become increasingly less important than class in determining one's eventual status.

Maternal Employment and Mobility

One characteristic of Black family mobility, that differs from white families, is that stability and upward mobility have required that both parents work. The model of working mothers has resulted in a minimum of mother vs. worker conflict. This involvement in economic support has led to a greater egalitarian husband-wife relationship, a strength often mistaken for dominance by outsiders.

Status attainment for women as individuals is less clear and certain for women than men regardless of race (Scanzoni, 1977). In spite of increased numbers of workers outside of the home, women still tend to gain their status from their spouses. There are problems that are unique to Black women. The Black female has less control over "status destiny," for her status is linked to the pool of eligible Black men who are constantly bombarded by occupational discrimination. For a wide variety of factors (low birth sex ratio, high incarceration rate, early death, homosexuality) fewer Black males of comparable or higher status are available for these women. For this reason Black middle-class females, and those with mobility goals, are under greater stress. They often must select mates from a variety of lower status levels than do the comparable white females.

Scanzoni (1977) found that a Black male from a middle-class family had a greater chance of maintaining that status than a Black female from a middle-class family. Only 28 percent of the middle-class women in his sample were able to marry middle-class men. Seventy-two percent had married working class men. In contrast, Black males had a choice of a wider variety, from those females of his status and women of lower status. Their wives took on their middle-class status, but the status of the women often fell or caused class strains. Such strains may have an impact on the socialization of their children.

Socialization of Children for Achievement

The basic assumption about socialization is that it occurs as the result of parental behavior that reflects their basic values and lifestyle. Parents, through their overt and covert behaviors, attempt to help their children become prepared for their positions with the duality of the Black existence; i.e., into both their majority and minority status (McAdoo, 1974). This is no easy task for the very values that permeate the wider society are, for the most, detrimental to the development of their positive self-esteem, ethnic identity, and achievement in school. Earlier empirical studies have shown that these Black children have been able to maintain positive feelings of self worth, while they have tended at an earlier age to be outgroup (white) oriented but became markedly own-group oriented (Black) by late childhood (J. McAdoo, 1978; H. McAdoo, 1978).

A Black family that is able to be upwardly mobile has to ensure that these gains will not be lost in the next generation. The traditional route to maintain parental achievements has been education that can be turned into economic gains. This emphasis on education exists because it is seen as the most viable route to maintain their status and the only route open in the past.

The emphasis on education during socialization is usually made without clear knowledge on what parental behaviors are supportive of this desired achievement. A review of the literature indicated a cluster of characteristics that would help.

Billingsley (1968) stated that achievers tended to come from strong families. Blau and Duncan (1966) found that the optimum family conditions that help mobility were economic and social support, social support including molding thought patterns, language, encouragement to study and achieve, and role modeling. Maternal employment has a definite impact on socialization of their children. Kahn (1971) found that when a mother works, greater stress is placed by both parents on the child's developing autonomy, rather than obedience. The higher the mother's status, the greater the emphasis on autonomy. Autonomy is another of the characteristics associated with educational achievement. Other clusters of behavior that are found to be related to achievement are warmth, goal orientation, positive self-esteem, closeness within families, and the development of independence in child's thinking.

Greene (1976) found that Black parents' educational wishes for the child influenced to some degree their academic performance at the high school level. But these wishes had negligible influence in elementary school. Blau and Duncan (1966) also found interpersonal stress on education is the strongest Black aid.

Blau and Duncan (1966) and Scanzoni (1971) found that the father's occupation was the strongest predictor of child's education and occupation. In contrast, Allen (1976) did find that for whites the father represented the pivotal factor, but for Black male adolescents the mother constitutes the pivotal factor in the family social system. Her aspirations, her level of attainment, her education, and her role modeling determined his level of aspirations. One important factor of Allen's sample though was that mothers were better employed than the fathers. In this case the higher status of parent, regardless of sex, was the mediating factor.

Allen (1976) found that Black achievements were high if the parent-son relationship was closest and parent aspirations were high. But for white teens, parental approval, not aspirations, were more important than for Blacks. Role modeling of both parents and in male reference groups had great influence on job mobility (Scanzoni, 1971). In working, middle and underclass families Scanzoni found a "strong father-figure," a father or male reference person, and not the stereotyped matriarch.

The presence of one or two parents was not found by Scanzoni (1971) to be important, in spite of the financial vulnerability of single parent homes. He found no difference in occupational achievement between family types. The Black families were able to overcome many hurdles.

Another characteristic commonly cited about middle-class Black families is the tendency to protect their children. Many tended to fear the negative influence of children who were not achievers and attemped to isolate their children within their own group. Another reason for protectiveness was to isolate the child from the stings of racism. One of the results of the parents' protectiveness could be a lack of preparation for the stresses that will be encountered later. An example is the quote of a minister's son, enrolled in college, who was studied by Coles (1968).

> . . . They brought us up to work and study, and get along nice and easy with people -- the way they do. So it's a shock, leaving home to find people swearing at you, and not even being able to talk to them, to ask them why they're saying what they are.

Both Blacks and Whites are hurt by over-protectiveness. Wayne (1978) found that suburban families who move because of the schools, have children who are so sheltered as to be unprepared to function in the wider world.

Kin Help Network

The extended family network has long been cited (Billingsley,1968; Hill, 1971; Staples, 1974) as one of the supportive structures that have enabled Black families to transcend a multitude of circumstances across the generations. This network, combined with the church and close community network, have played an important role in the socialization of adults into parents, and of children into their roles in the wide society.

The "extended family" no longer is composed of the three generation domestic arrangement, but refers instead to the close relations within and across generations (Sussman and Burchinal, 1962; McAdoo, 1978). The typical urban family is composed of neo-nuclear or modified extended structure (Litwak, 1960). The family lives in separate nuclear domestic units that function independently, but are linked in an intense arrangement of shared help. This system of relating in a bilateral or generational manner is the basis of the kin help network patterns. Those who are the most insecure tend to integrate themselves with greater frequency in extended arrangements (Gibson, 1972). These patterns are basic to the survival of the majority of Black families because of the availability of limited resources. Those few families who are economically secure appear to maintain themselves in the network because of personal preferences and because of the vulnerabilities of the Black middle-class. Billingsley (1968) stated that Black families go beyond the blood kin to interact and develop mutual aid within the wide community. These friends and neighbors are intimately incorporated and become as kin or "fictive kin."

The kin network was found by Stack (1974) to be an extended cluster of kin related through children, marriage and friendship who rally to provide basic domestic functions of feeding, clothing and child care. These ties were often formed between the women. The residents of a house may change, but they were part of a single network that had a strong continuity over time.

Operational definitions were then made of the theory components of extended family and upward mobility. Extended family was defined not as the domestic unit with three generations found in traditional families; rather it referred to a measure of the extent and intensity of involvement with kin and the reciprocal exchange of goods, services and ongoing emotional support. Inherent in any exchange is a degree of reciprocity. The reciprocal obligations that result from the support were hypothesized to be clearly understood by all family members. Yet this generalized reciprocity was not expected to be perceived as being excessive. Upward mobility was defined as the educational and occupational status changes that occurred over three adult generations, on both the maternal and paternal lines. If a cultural pattern existed, it would be present in families that were newly mobile and also in families that had been of middle-class status for two or three generations. Therefore, it was predicted that families of all mobility patterns would be equally involved in the kin help exchange.

Methods

To test these hypotheses, a study was conducted with controls placed for: (1) demography (half urban; half suburban), (2) family type (two-thirds two-parent; one-third one-parent, to reflect U.S. Census), and (3) mobility pattern ((a) born working class, two generations; (b) born middle class, two or three generations; and (c) born working class of parents who were born in poverty). Background data were collected over three generations. See Appendix A for specific data collection procedures.

Sample

All of the 305 parents, representing 178 domestic units in mid-Atlantic areas, were Black, were minimally of middle income ($10,000 for single parents, $14,000 for two parents). They all had school age children in the home and at least one parent was over 25 years of age. The average age of the mothers was 37 and 40 for the fathers. Half (51 percent) of the children were boys and had similar age ranges in both sites. There were 2.37 children on the average in each family. Parents were born in the mid-Atlantic states and the grandparents were born in the south and migrated to the east and north.

We looked at their present family structure, 72 percent were two-parent and 28 percent had one-parent. Of the 50 single parents, four were fathers and 46 were mothers with the same proportion in both the urban and suburban sites. Eighty-nine percent of the single mothers had been married, 46 percent were divorced, 37 percent separated, and 6 percent widowed. Only 11 percent were single without clarification (see Table 1).

The families of orientation in which the present subjects grew up were then examined. Contrary to prevailing images, the majority (67 percent) of the parents, who were working class, were from homes with both parents present. Thirty-three percent were in one-parent homes. We then wanted to see if there was a family type difference in the earlier homes of mothers who now reside in one- or two-parent homes. No significant difference was found, 78 percent of the now single mothers and 82 percent of the married mothers were raised in two-parent homes (see Table 2). It must be reiterated that the majority (85 percent) of the earlier homes were working class and not middle-class. These simple characteristics are not consistent with the images projected of Black working class parents who reached maturity in the 1930's.

Their social economic status was then calculated. We were dissatisfied with the standard Hollingshead-Redlich rating procedure, that placed greater emphasis on occupation than education because of job discrimination against Blacks. This meant that we used five different calculations to determine SES: the standard one, a modification of

Table 1

Frequency Distribution of Sample by Demography, Family Type, Sex and Marital Status of Head of Household, and Family Structure

Group	Urban f	Urban %	Suburban f	Suburban %	Total f	Total %
Demography Total	88	49	90	51	178	100
Parents Interviewed						
Mothers	87	56	87	58	174	57
Fathers	68	44	63	42	131	43
Total	155	100%	150	100%	305	100%
Sample						
Two-parent units	68	77	60	67	128	72
One-parent unit	20	23	30	33	50	28
Total	88	100%	90	100%	178	100%
One-parent units						
Mother as head	19	95	27	90	46	93
Father as head	1	5	3	10	4	7
Total	20	100%	30	100%	50	100%

Marital Status One-parent Head	Mothers f	Mothers %	Fathers f	Fathers %	Total f	Total %
Divorced	21	46	3	75	24	48
Separated	17	37	1	25	18	36
Single	5	11	-	-	5	10
Widowed	3	6	-	-	3	6
Total	46	100%	4	100%	50	100%

Table 2

Frequency Distribution of Structure[1] of Present Family by Demography and Structure of Family of Orientation by Family Type and Sex of Head of Household

Family Type	Structure	Defined	Urban f	Urban %	Suburban f	Suburban %	Total f	Total %
2-parent	Simple nuclear	Parents, children	66	97	55	92	121	95
	Simple extended	Parents, children, relatives	2	3	3	5	5	4
	Augmented nuclear	Parents, children, non-relatives	-	-	2	3	2	2
			68	100	60	100	128	101
1-parent	Attenuated nuclear	Parent, children	16	80	28	93	44	88
	Atten. extended	Parent, children, relatives	3	15	2	7	5	10
	Augmented atten. nuclear	Parent, children, non-relatives	1	5	-	-	1	2
			20	100	30	100	50	100
		Total nuclear units	82	93	83	92	165	93
		Total extended units	5	6	5	6	10	6
		Total augmented	1	1	2	2	3	2
			88	100%	90	100%	178	101%

(continued)

Table 2 (continued)

Structure	2-parent Mother		2-parent Father		1-parent Mother		1-parent Father		Total	
	Present Family by Sex of Head									
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Simple nuclear	121	95	(As in Mothers)		-	-	-	-	121	68
Simple extended	5	4			-	-	-	-	5	3
Augmented nuclear	1	1			-	-	-	-	1	1
Augmented exten.	1	1			-	-	-	-	1	1
Attenuated nuclear	-	-			40	87	4	100	44	24
Aug. Atten. nuclear	-	-			1*	2	-	-	1	1
Atten. extended	-	-			5	11	-	-	5	3
Total	128	101%			46	100%	4	100%	178	101%
	Family of Orientation by Sex of Present Head									
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Simple nuclear	74	55	69	53	29	71	2	50		
Simple extended	39	29	28	22	7	17	-	-		
Augmented nuclear	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	-		
Augmented exten.	2	1	4	3	-	-	-	-		
Attenuated nuclear	10	7	17	13	4	10	-	-		
Aug. Atten. nuclear	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-		
Atten. extended	5	4	7	5	1	2	2	50		
Incipient extend.	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-		
Missing data	1	1	2	2						
Total	134	99%	130	101%	41	100%	4	100%		

[1] See Appendix for structure definition

*Woman; 4 long-term foster care children.

Hollingshead-Redlich in which education was weighted greater than occupation, self-rating over three generations, and standard occupation and education status ratings. Using the modified procedure, we found that 42 percent were in Class I, or upper middle-class status, 31 percent were in solid middle-class, and 9 percent were at the lower middle-classlevel (see Table 3). Forty-one percent of the parents had graduate or advanced professional degrees and 53 percent had some college (see Table 4). The fathers were significantly better educated than the mothers (see Table 5). Mothers earned an average of $12,000, and fathers earned $22,000.

Table 3

SES Summary

Social Class	Hollingshead/Redlich Standard		Hollingshead/Redlich Modified		Self Rating: Self		Self Rating: Parent		Grand-parent		Neighbors	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Upper	55	43	66	51	8	7	2	2	1	1	7	6
Middle	61	47	50	39	88	74	30	26	12	11	89	75
Working	12	9	12	9	22	19	78	68	80	72	18	15
Lower	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	4	18	16	4	3
Total	129	100	129	100	119	101	115	100	111	100	118	99

Table 4

Educational Levels for the Total and by the Four Mobility Patterns

Educational Level	Group						
				Paternal		Maternal	
	Subject %	Father %	Mother %	Grandpa %	Grandma %	Grandpa %	Grandma %
				Total			
Graduate, Prof.	41	6	6	1	-	1	-
College	37	8	10	4	-	1	3
Some College	16	14	16	10	7	13	9
High School	6	35	39	16	21	18	24
Some High School			1				
Junior High	1	18	13	16	17	22	21
Grade School	-	20	15	53	54	44	44
Total	101	101	100	100	99	99	101
N	127	127	125	70	70	72	78
				Upwardly Mobile this Generation			
Graduate, Prof.	16	-	3	-	-	-	-
College	33	5	8	4	-	-	-
Some College	19	10	13	18	10	11	10
High School	1	33	40	14	21	17	15
Some High School							
Junior High	1	19	15	14	10	17	23
Grade School	-	32	22	50	59	54	49
Total	100	99	101	100	100	99	100
N	79	78	76	28	29	35	39
				Upwardly Mobile each Generation			
Graduate, Prof.	45	-	-	-	-	4	-
College	52	7	14	-	-	-	-
Some College	-	17	24	-	-	4	8
High School	3	48	41	10	17	20	23
Some High School	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
Junior High	-	23	14	17	21	36	23
Grade School	-	-	3	72	62	36	46
Total	100	100	99	99	100	100	100
N	29	29	29	29	29	25	25
				Upwardly Mobile Parents' Generation			
Graduate, Prof.	29	63	50	-	-	-	-
College	29	13	13	-	-	-	14
Some College	29	-	13	13	13	29	-
High School	14	25	13	38	38	14	57
Some High School	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Junior High	-	-	-	25	25	14	14
Grade School	-	-	13	25	25	43	14
Total	101	101	102	101	101	100	99
N	7	8	8	8	8	7	7
				Middle-Class over Three Generations			
Graduate, Prof.	9	17	9	40	-	-	-
College	33	25	16	40	-	20	-
Some College	25	42	16	20	25	40	17
High School	33	17	50	20	25	20	50
Some High School	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Junior High	-	-	9	-	25	-	-
Grade School	-	-	-	-	25	20	33
Total	100	101	100	100	100	100	100
N	12	12	12	[illegible]	1	6	6

Table 5

Summary of Educational Achievement for Subjects, Degrees of Paternal Line and Educational Level by SES Self-rating for Two-parent Homes

Educational Level of Head of Household	
Graduate/professional training	41%
College	53%
High School	6%
	100%

Degrees Earened by Subjects	Fathers		Mothers	
	f	%	f	%
Ph.D., Ed.D.	17	12	8	5
Med., Law	12	8	2	1
Masters	29	20	37	24
Bachelors	51	36	52	34
AA, AS, RN, Bus.	7	5	12	8
High School +	27	19	44	29
Total	143	100	155	101

Degrees Earned by Paternal Ancestors

					Paternal				Maternal			
	Father		Mother		Grandpa		Grandma		Grandpa		Grandma	
Degree	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Ph.D., Ed.D.	1	1										
Med., Law	1	1							1	1		
Masters	5	4	7	5	1	1						
Bachelors	9	7	14	10	2	3	1	1	1	1	2	3
AA, AS, RN, Bus.	5	4	4	3	3	4	1	1	2	3	2	3
High School +	59	45	71	53	16	23	18	26	20	28	24	31
None	50	39	39	29	47	68	49	71	48	67	50	64
Total	130	101	135	100	69	99	69	99	72	100	78	101

Two-parent Unit	Born Working Class						Born Middle Class					
		Mother's			Father's			Mother's			Father's	
Education	Mother	Pa	Ma	Father	Pa	Ma	Mother	Pa	Ma	Father	Pa	Ma
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Grad/Prof.	38	12	5	43	5	4	4	14	4	35	15	19
College	27	6	14	41	7	8	30	-	9	35	15	19
Some College	24	15	20	11	12	19	61	14	17	26	15	24
High School	11	37	41	6	34	37	4	36	26	4	35	29
Some High School	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Junior High	-	13	17	-	22	18	-	18	13	-	10	-
Less than 7 years	-	16	2	-	21	14	-	18	30	-	10	10
Total	101	100	100	101	101	101	99	100	99	100	100	101
N	84	80	86	86	80	84	23	22	23	23	17	19

The modified SES ratings were higher than when the standard procedure was used, indicating that occupational discrimination against the Black male had truncated his family's occupational mobility. Fathers tended to be managers or executives, while mothers were managers, teachers or administrators (see Table 6). The mothers tended to contribute only one-third of the total income and were less educated than the fathers. Therefore, the family's status was determined greatly by the education and occupation of the father. The mother's income was used as an extra stabilizer that allowed continuation of their middle-class status.

The unique status criteria of skin color and hair type was still a part of their lives. Over half felt it was an active concern in their lives. It was still important (34 percent) but the emphasis was felt to be less now than in the past (17 percent). A few (5 percent) felt there

Table 6

Occupations by Percentage of Male and Female Subjects and their Ancestors over Three Generations

				Paternal		Maternal	
Occupation	Subject %	Father %	Mother %	Grandpa %	Grandma %	Grandpa %	Grandma %
	Occupations of Male Subjects and their Ancestors						
Executives	40	7	1	1	-	2	-
Managers	43	9	15	4	5	3	5
Administrative	10	7	3	13	1	10	1
Clerical	3	19	10	35	5	40	9
Skilled	2	27	5	16	2	13	1
Semi-skilled	1	14	6	4	3	9	1
Unskilled	1	18	17	27	13	23	14
Not work	-	-	43	-	71	1	69
Total	100	101	100	100	100	101	100
	Occupations of Female Subjects and their Ancestors						
Executives	22	8	1	10	1	7	-
Managers	37	12	25	5	13	3	4
Administrative	25	11	5	7	2	7	1
Clerical	14	24	11	39	8	50	8
Skilled	-	20	5	16	1	10	3
Semi-skilled	1	10	7	5	3	9	8
Unskilled	-	14	14	19	18	15	14
Not work	1	-	33	-	54	-	63
Total	100	99	101	101	100	101	101

was a preference for darker skin. Significant urban-suburban differences were found, for the Washington, D.C. parents felt it was very important. Only 11 percent of the urban parents, compared to the 90 percent of those in suburbia, felt skin and hair were no longer important. This would be consistent with stereotypes of the nation's capitol being more traditional and status conscious.

Religion played an important role in the lives of only half of the families. One-fourth felt the church was of no significance at all. More suburban (31 percent) than urban (22 percent) were out of contact with a church. Over the three generations a strong shift was made from Baptist and fundamental churches to so-called "high" churches (see Table 7).

Eighty-five percent were born working class and 15 percent were middle-class. Four different mobility patterns over three generations were found: (1) 62 percent were born working and became middle-class; (2) 23 percent had grandparents in poverty and working class parents; (3) 9 percent were middle-class over three generations, and (4) 6 percent had parents who had moved up to middle-class. No one in this generation went from underclass directly to middle-class status, but 6 percent of the grandparents did (see Table 7). It would appear that such a jump would be too great to manage with contemporary economic pressures.

Results

Extended Kin and Reciprocal Obligations

The major hypotheses were supported. The extended family patterns were very much in evidence. The family support had performed an important function in their upward mobility. They had not been forced to cut themselves off from their family to be upwardly mobile, nor had they emotionally

Table 7

Religious Memberships over Three Generations of Head of Household

Religion	Subject	Subjects'		Subjects'	
		Father	Mother	Grandpa	Grandma
	%	%	%	%	%
Baptist	32	49	45	62	55
Methodist	16	23	22	24	26
Catholic	15	12	14	7	7
Episcopal	9	3	2	3	-
Presbyterian	6	3	4	3	3
Pentecostal) Seventh Day) Adventist) Jehovah's Witness)	4	4	5	1	6
Muslim	1				
Other	9	6	6	1	3
No religion	8	1	1		
Total	100	101	99	101	100

separated themselves from the wider Black community and culture once they had higher status. The kin involvement was found equally in the newly mobile and where the family had been middle-class for two or more generations. Assistance was being exchanged in both directions in families of all mobility patterns. Similar types of help were exchanged by all groups (see Table 8). The continuation of the extended family helping systems could be accounted by two interacting factors, the first was that the family patterns of the cultural memoirs carried over from Africa and continued through the slavery experience, were still valued and functional. The other factor could be that because the wider social agencies are still not perceived by Blacks as sensitive to their normal developmental and unique needs, the family members have worked to maintain the shared kin help network, knowing that this was their only sure source of help in times of trouble.

The reciprocal obligations of the kin help exchange were present, but were balanced and not perceived as excessive. There was significantly more pressure on the newly mobile to maintain the help patterns. This was expected because their kin would possibly be in weaker financial straits than the other kin who themselves were middle-class.

Educational Aspirations

The values of the parents reflected a wide variety of lifestyles. One prevailing emphasis reported by the parents was the value of education. Many mentioned great sacrifices relatives made on their hands and knees scrubbing floors to help them get their education. Their educational mobility was not seen as an individualistic achievement, but rather a process shared by the wider kin group and non-relatives who had become as kin. These middle-class parents tended not to have an accumulation of wealth to pass on to their children, for almost all were in salaried positions. All indicated a belief that each generation of Blacks must make the upwardly mobile cycle again. They also felt on guard because they could easily slip back to working class status. Therefore, the education of their children became a major concern and expense in their lives. Consistent with the literature, the parents were attempting to protect the children from the pressures of racism in order to promote their feelings of self-worth and to protect their achievement potential.

Table 8

Types of Help Exchanged by Mobility Patterns[1] as Reported by Mothers

Mobility Patterns: 1, 2, 3	Family			Friends		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Help Received From						
Child care	38	32	35	24	32	36
Financial	27	29	24	14	13	25
Emotional	22	24	29	48	52	31
Repairs, chores	11	9	6	9	3	6
Clothes, furniture	2	6	6	5	-	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	101
N	55	34	34	58	31	36
Help Given To						
Child care	24	34	44	25	17	36
Financial	37	25	23	18	25	33
Emotional	18	22	26	46	53	31
Repairs, chores	8	-	-	7	6	-
Clothes, furniture	13	19	8	5	-	-
Total	100	100	101	101	101	100
N	62	32	39	61	36	36

[1] Mobility Patterns
1 = Upward in present generation
2 = Upward in each generation
3 = Born middle-class
Upward in parent's generation
Middle-class over three generations

Summary

How were these families different from other families of their status? On a superficial level these Black middle-class families may appear similar to middle-class families everywhere: those in suburbia lived in contemporary homes on integrated curving streets near every possible convenience; those in the city dwelled in stately older homes in an all-Black area, dense with mature trees. However similar these Black lifestyles were to dominant ones from the outside, there were internal differences that become apparent when the parents' attitudes and behaviors were observed more closely. They felt that they were unique from all other ethnic groups. This uniqueness existed in the forms of music, hairstyles and the extended family. Many references were made to the joys of their youth within the security of a close Black community. Whether these differences are a result of carry-over of cultural attributes of African cultures, or if they evolved because of generations of coping with racism and poverty, is a continuing argument among scholars of Black and African families. Both factors were clearly interacting with these families. Many cultural traits were evident in the extensive involvement in kin help patterns, while discrimination was clearly having an impact.

One distinct difference from comparable white families was the awareness of racial oppression. They selected different means to offset it. In attempting to cope with discrimination, many families were enjoying the pleasant lifestyle their incomes afforded, but were articulate in their belief that racial oppression was to be their continuing destiny regardless of social status. Some families were clearly opting for the assimilation route to maintain stability. Others were continuing their strong involvement in the Black church with the professed belief that things may be hard now but there would be salvation in heaven after death. Some had become cynical and had opted for the route of accumulating wealth with the mistaken hope that enough trappings will protect them from the outside world. Only a very few were espousing pan-African beliefs of a strong identification with Africa. Other families showed a mixture of these elements, with elements of Frazier's bourgeoisie present in some families and not in others.

The one factor that reiterated itself was that of diversity in attitudes and lifestyles within even this small sample. One would be amiss to attempt to lump them as having any one characteristic orientation. While different in many ways, they coalesced in their awareness of the need to protect their children from the press of the majority and the feelings of inevitability of change in the attitude of the wider culture.

From a theoretical view, the author agrees with Staples' (1978) presentation of the current conceptual models of viewing the Black family. It is impossible to explain the lifestyles of these families totally by using just one model. The colonial model, with its emphasis on racism in the provision of economic resources to cultural groups, provides explanations for many factors of Black life. However, to use only this model one would have to focus only on the families that are deviations from majority norms to provide illustrations of inequity. This could imply that the strengths of Black families are only coping mechancisms that allow the family to survive. The colonial model would not allow one to investigate stable families or the Afro-American cultural continuities that are found in a more pan-African model (Nobles, 1974). The incorporation of the second pan-African model with the first would provide for a fuller examination of the characteristics of Black families (extended family, role of the Black church, etc.) that allow them to transcend, not just cope, with factors that are produced under a racially inequitable system. While Wilson (1978) postured that class is more important than race, these families are constantly experiencing an interaction between race and class. The data from these families indicate that although they have obtained all of the economic lifestyle trappings of their class, they are continually placed under the tension of transcending race as they attempt to maintain stability in their families.

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Appendix A

Data Collection Procedure

In light of the differing views on the impact of mobility on the extended family relationships, a questionnaire was developed to explore this variable. The original interview questions were field-tested two times before the protocols were finalized.

The instrument used was the McAdoo Family Profile Scale that gathered data on (1) basic background information; (2) extended familialism and kin help scale; (3) educational and occupational mobility over four generations; (4) family structure, parental decision-making; (5) schedule of recent life experiences; (6) family size change; (7) comfort with child care; (8) satisfaction with life; and (9) preference for and utilization of family support systems.

In each family, the father was interviewed for two hours by a Black male interviewer. The mother was then interviewed separately for two-and-a-half hours by a Black female interviewer. Parents were then each asked to fill in personal data sheets, at their liesure, for 45 minutes, that provided background demographic information and three separate scales.

In one-parent homes, the head of household present in the home was asked to fill out a background data sheet on the other parent. While there was some missing information on the non-resident or deceased parent, we were thus able to get some mobility data on both sides of all of our families. Comparisons were made on both the paternal and maternal line to allow a more accurate analysis of the family's mobility over three generations. While data were obtained from or about both parents in the home, the family as a whole was the unit of analysis. In cases of conflicting information between the parents, the father's data were consistently selected in two-parent homes on mobility patterns and certain background variables. When conflict occurred in child-rearing and kin help and interaction variables, the mother's responses were selected.

Sample Selection

To test the impact of these family factors during mobility, parents who were already middle income were selected as the target group. Parents were selected from a mid-Atlantic metropolitan center to fit into the independent variables of demography and family type. One half were in the District of Columbia and the other half were in the nearby suburban town of Columbia.

Columbia is a ten-year-old planned new town located in Maryland, 15 miles outside of the District. While unique in the convenience of its urban planning, it typifies pleasant suburban sites across the country. A nearly complete list of all Black families was constructed from membership lists of every Black organization, from church rolls and lists gathered from public and private preschools and elementary school rosters. These lists were then assembled into one master list from which the names were randomly selected with replacements. The suburban sample was selected first and then Census tracts matching the suburban sample on income and education were selected in the urban center.

All of the parents had to meet the criteria of: (1) Black; (2) presently had a middle income status (minimum income of $10,000 for one-parent, and $14,00 for two-parent homes); (3) had school age children living in the home under the age of 18 years; and (4) had one parent over the age of 25 years. The parental age cut-off was used because the period before age 25 is the time during which the prerequisites of socio-economic status are developed: education, occupation and income level. By age 25 the SES level begins to become apparent.

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Verbal Recall in Learning Disabled Children with Memory Dysfunctions: A Pilot Study

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Abstract

In this pilot study, the effect of Experimenter cuing on recall and organization of response was analyzed and compared between subjects identified as learning disabled with an isolated memory impairment (LDMI), learning disabled without an isolated memory impariment (LDO), and normal controls (N). Six subjects were selected for each group after extensive examination on a pre-screening battery. All subjects were tested under free recall and constrained recall conditions. Subject-generated and group-generated word pools were used for compiling word lists as a control for item familiarity and cultural bias in word frequency norms. Results show a substantial increase in performance for the cued recall task above the free recall task for all groups.[1] Although no interaction effects were demonstrated, the LDMI group seemed to benefit the most under the organization imposed (cued) condition. Suggestions for further research and implications for diagnostic and ameliorative proscriptive techniques were discussed.

The area of learning disabilities has been receiving ever increasing amounts of attention in recent years by both researchers and educators (Hallahan & Cruickshank, 1973). The major thrust of this research has been concerned with perceptual or cognitive correlates of learning disorders in white middle-class students. Since there is a disproportionately high number of minority group children who are classified in this way, these research findings are not easily generalizable. Proponents of fairness in testing see the placement of these children in special education classes as an extension of the general multitude of problematic issues in the testing and diagnosis of minorities (NAACP, 1976; Miller, 1974). However, in spite of this concern, very little in-depth basic research has been focused on the fundamental cognitive components of the learning process which contribute to these students' inadequate scholastic performance. It is the task of this pilot study to outline a research model for the development of diagnostic and prescriptive procedures to help determine the nature and extent of cognitive problems in disadvantaged underachievers. Mnemonic organization and its relation to encoding and retrieval processes will be examined.

In line with many recent ideas concerning information processing (Neisser, 1976; Norman, 1969), we view memory function as an active process. Atkinson and Shiffrin (1968) have outlined their model of human memory incorporating the notion of control processes to explain the transfer of information from short term storage to long term stores. They propose the idea that the use of mnemonic encoding techniques, such as organization and rehearsal are flexible, subjective processes varying from one time to the next, based on a subject's expectations, past experiences and knowledge in long term store, as well as the immediate task demand. It is expected that learning disabled subjects would be inferior to average subjects in the use of these strategies, but would be able to improve their performance by making use of instruction and training in mnemonic organization techniques.

By and large, the investigations of others into the memory processes of students considered learning disabled has resulted in findings

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[1] No differences in categorical clustering trend were found between groups.

suggesting these students are inferior to average students in short term memory tasks due to deficient rehearsal (Bauer, 1977; Tarver, Hallahan, Kauffman & Ball, 1976) slow encoding speeds (Spring, 1976), and failure to make use of organizational strategies where appropriate (Parker, Freston, & Drew, 1975; Torgesen, 1975; and Torgesen & Goldman, 1977). However, these studies have a number of shortcomings that create difficulty in generalizing to other groups. Criteria for learning disabilities vary from one study to the next in terms of academic level and intellectual capacity. For example, Bauer's (1977) criteria are two or more years below grade appropriate level for reading and math with I.Q. greater than 80 points, while criteria used by Tarver, et al., (1976) are seven months or more below grade appropriate level and I.Q. greater than 85 points.

Another factor relating to difficulty in generalization to other populations stems from the lack of information pertaining to other cognitive functions. These researchers have tacitly assumed homogeneity of basic cognitive processes underlying memory function. Yet it is possible that dysfunctions in attention, auditory discrimination or verbal fluency underly the demonstrated verbal short term memory impariment. Finally, it is possible that differences in word familiarity between learning disabled and normal groups could account for these findings.

The present study will address these methodological problems by incorporating an extensive pre-screening battery to identify academic, cognitive, and perceptual functioning. Furthermore, word lists used in recall tasks will be composed of items generated by each subject individually and by items generated by the entire group of subjects as a whole.

Method

Pre-screening

A pre-screening battery of tests was devised to differentiate between learning disabled students with an isolated memory impariment and those not demonstrating a clear isolated memory impairment. This screening battery was also administered to subjects believed to be functionally normal in order to assure average ability. The pre-screening battery includes the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children Revised (WISC-R), the Wechsler Memory Scale (1945), the Buschke Learning and Memory Evaluation (1974), and the Rey Auditory Verbal Learning Test (1964). The Wepman Auditory Discrimination Test (1958) will be administered to ascertain the ability to recognize fine differences that exist between the phonemes used in English speech. The Raven's Colored Progressive Matrices (1963) will be given to tap into perceptual functioning.

As part of this pre-screening battery, subjects were asked to generate seven items for 12 taxonomic categories: Animals, Clothing, Jobs, Fruits, Favorite Drinks, and Favorite Television Programs. This procedure was administered twice. The first two word lists used in the experiment were compiled using five repeated items generated to four conceptual categories. The second two word lists were compiled after pooling all subjects' responses and using the five most common responses to four conceptual categories. Each subject received a unique word list for task I and a different unique word list for task II, based on his own responses. The word lists used for tasks III and IV were given to every subject.

Subjects

All subjects, aged 9-10, were selected from 4th grade Title 1 classes in the New York City Public School System. Based on their performance on the pre-screening battery, six subjects were assigned to each of the following groups: Learning Disabled Memory Imparied (LDMI), Learning Disabled Other (LDO), and Normal (N). To be selected for the LDMI group, a subject must be achieving academically at least 1.5 years below grade level, must be evaluated by the classroom teacher as having learning difficulties, and must have an I.Q. above 77 points. Furthermore, the subject must demonstrate a definite verbal memory problem as evidenced by below normal performance on several standardized tests (The Buschke Memory and Learning Evaluation, The Rey Auditory Verbal Learning Test, and The Wechsler Memory Scale). The selection criteria for the LDO group were the same as above except the subjects could not demonstrate a definite verbal memory problem (i.e., either normal performance on the above memory tests or inadequate memory performance confounded by concurrent problems in attention, language, or auditory discrimination). To be included in the normal group, a subject must be on or above grade level for basic academic skills, must perform within the normal range on all tests of the pre-screening battery. Subjects demonstrating severe behavior problems were excluded from the study.

Procedure

Each subject will participate in the following four verbal learning tasks. Tasks I and III involve random presentation/free recall; Tasks II and IV involve random presentation/constrained recall. Tasks I and II use words generated by the subject, five items from four conceptual categories (different categories are used in each condition). Tasks III and IV use the most frequent items generated by all subjects combined, five items from four categories per condition. In the constrained recall condition, subjects will have their recall cued by category, that is, the experimenter will say "tell me all the fruits, all the animals, etc." Three trials were given for each task.

Results

Results were analyzed in terms of amount recalled and organizational trends (i.e., categorical clustering). The data indicate that cuing significantly improved performance for all groups ($p < .05$). Surprisingly, retention differences between LDMI, LDO, and N were not significant, however, a trend in the expected direction was noted (see Table 1). No significant differences were obtained between subject generated word lists and group generated word list conditions for corresponding tasks. No interaction effects were observed.

Table 1

Mean Number of Words Recalled

	OWN NORM		GROUP NORM	
	Task I	II (cued)	III	IV(cued)
Ld Mem Imp	(n=6) 30.67	(n=6) 38.83	(n=5) 30.80	(n=5) 46.20
LD other	(n=7) 35.29	(n=7) 42.71	(n=5) 38.00	(n=5) 49.60
Normal	(n=6) 36.17	(n=6) 48.17	(n=6) 34.67	(n=6) 47.67
Total $\bar{X}$	34.11	43.21	34.50	47.81

Organizational trends were computed based on number of conceptual runs, defined as the number of items recalled in succession from the same taxonomic category. Figure 1-4 depict the information in graphic form. No significant difference in organizational trend was found between groups in any of the four experimental tasks. Expected trend increases were noted for tasks II and IV and were noted across trials.

Discussion

These results raise a question concering why the LDMI group did not demonstrate significantly worse performance than the other groups on the experimental tasks as they did on the standardized memory tests of the screening battery. Several possibilities exist. First, it is possible that the experimental task was too easy and a ceiling was reached by all groups. This explanation is unlikely since on cued recall, Task II and Task IV, all groups improved significantly, showing there was room for improvement,thus no ceiling effect.

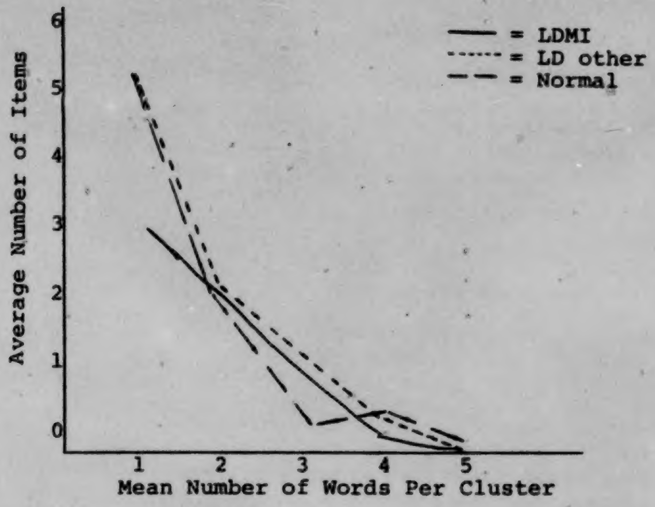

Figure 1. Organizational Trends - Task I

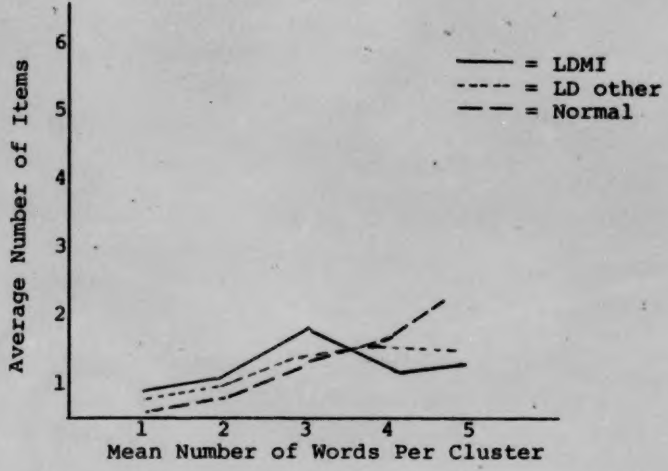

Figure 2. Organizational Trends - Task II

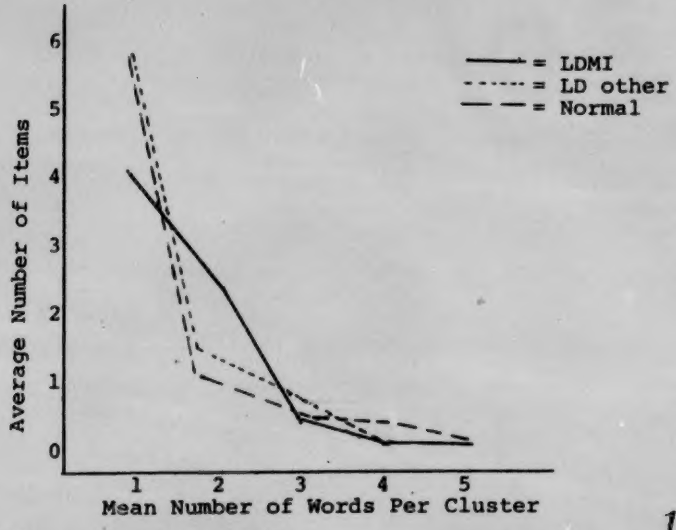

Figure 3. Organizational Trends - Task III

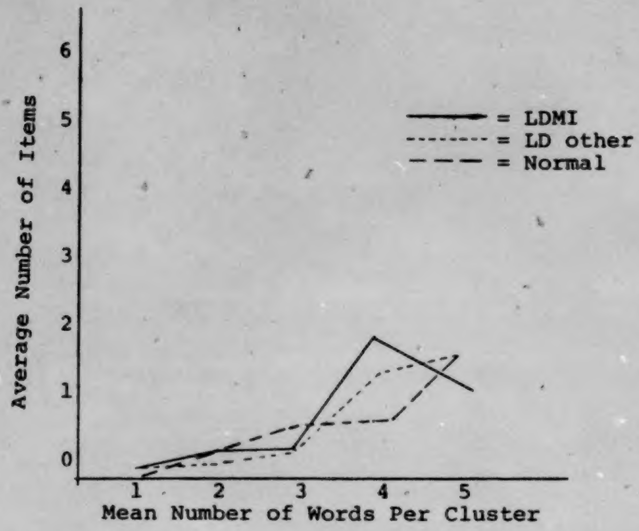

Figure 4. Organizational Trends - Task 4

It is also possible that standardized word norms are inappropriate for inner city nonwhite ethnic groups. If this is the case, a true memory defect perhaps was not demonstrated on the standardized test, rather, the significant decrement of performance of this group could be attributed to unfamiliarity with the words used on these tests. This argument is weak since not all inner city nonwhite learning disabled students had difficulty on this task. Most of the other learning disabled group (LDO) did perform on par with the normal controls (also inner city, nonwhite students) on the standardized tests.

Finally, these results may be attributed to the fact that the sample size was too small to pick up significant differences. Since only six subjects were used in each group, this explanation is most plausible. Although the differences between groups were not significant, the probability level ($p < .10$) was large enough to suggest a trend in the expected direction. Therefore, with an increased sample, it is expected that the LDMI group will perform significantly below the LDO and N groups.

The differences between groups on the cued recall task (Tasks II and IV) was much less ($p > .25$). This finding suggests that the LDMI group was able to improve their recall performances to a greater extent than the other groups. In fact, the score difference between Task I and II and Task III and IV is actually greater for the LDMI group than for the LDO or the N groups. This finding gives support to the idea that the memory impariment experienced in the first group is a result of retrieval difficulty rather than a disorder in storage. This interpretation is especially helpful to educators, leading to implications for proscriptive measures emphasizing organization strategies to improve retrieval performance.

Research using subject generated items has shown familiarity with the cultural relevancy of words improves free recall performance (Franklin & Fulani, 1974). The finding that no significant difference occurred between subject generated and group generated word list conditions suggests the possibility of incorporating either method in future research employing this control procedure for word familiarity.

In the trend analysis of categorical clustering of response, no differences were noted between the experimental groups. This finding indicates both memory impaired learning disabled and other learning disabled students can organize their responses as well as normally achieving students. Since learning disabled students are capable of organizing information and demonstrate this ability when cued, further research should examine the prescriptive techniques necessary to encourage and improve spontaneous self-directed involvement in the utilization of mnemonic techniques.

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EXPLORATORY REFLECTIONS ON CHILDREARING IN AFRO-AMERICAN FAMILIES

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Abstract

An analysis of presently existing research indicates a strong relationship between the culture of the Black community (which is traceable to an African heritage), childrearing practices of Black families and the learning and expressive styles of Black children. In this paper key studies are reviewed that provide information on cognitive styles and ethnic stylizations that emerge from the childrearing practices of Black families.

A preliminary analysis will be conducted of interviews that were conducted in Charleston and Edisto Island, South Carolina during the summer of 1978. Afro-American women over the age of sixty were interviewed individually about their own childhood memories as well as their childrearing practices.

The literature and the interviews will be examined in an effort to identify categories that will be useful to incorporate into an observational study of the expressive styles of Black children.

The conceptual framework described in this paper should have important implications for curriculum and model development for Black children. There may be an inappropriate match between preschool and public school curricula due to the non-recognition of the diversity of learning styles of Black children.

Introduction

The present paper is an overview of a research study in which I have been engaged for three years. It began with a small grant from the Spencer Foundation in 1975 to study the play behavior of Black preschool children. It has evolved into a book manuscript entitled: Black Children: Their Roots, Culture and Learning Styles.

Essentially, the aim of the present research is to describe the culture of the Black community and demonstrate its effect on the learning styles of Black children. It is hypothesized that there are characteristics that are peculiar to Black culture which have their roots in West Africa and that have implications for the way in which Black children learn and think.

It is important to study the childrearing practices of Black families in order to identify the manner in which Afro-American culture shapes the behavior of Black children. It is equally significant to study the play behavior and expressive styles of Black children because it is through play that the culture is expressed/celebrated. The study of childrearing is an examination of what "goes in." The study of play behavior is the study of what "comes out."

Through study of the childrearing practices of Black families and the play behavior of Black children, it may be possible to create an educational system that recognizes their strengths, their abilities, and their culture and incorporate them into the learning process.

Through careful study of the childrearing practices of Black mothers we may be able to create greater continuity between the behaviors of Black mothers and the teachers of Black children. This line of investigation may provide important information on how to achieve continuity between the home, school and community in educating Black children.

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The manuscript I have written is essentially an analysis of presently existing research literature which will be summarized later in this discussion.

During the summer of 1978 I conducted a pilot study in Charleston, Edisto Island, and St. Helena Island, South Carolina. I interviewed 10 Black women between the ages of 60 and 80 about childrearing. The Sea Islands area was selected for this study because it has been identified as the most fertile area of the United States for observing Africanisms in the behavior of Black people. The tapes of the interviews have been transcribed. They are available for your perusal.

A comment or two about methodology is in order as we seek to create a cultural framework for understanding Black childrearing and behavior. It is hardly necessary to comment about the difficulty of this line of investigation with so little work to build upon. Since the scientific literature is so scanty, it may be necessary to analyze the creative writings of Africans and Afro-Americans which are contained in poetry, novels, short stories, autobiographies and songs to obtain information about Afro-centric values and childrearing practices. One possible source of unpublished autobiographical accounts is the Amistad Research Center which is presently housed at Dillard University in New Orleans, Louisiana. They have numerous autobiographical accounts of former slaves that were recorded during the Federal Writer's Project which was funded by the government in the 1930's. They also have the collection of papers from the American Missionary Association which was instrumental in establishing most of the Black colleges in the South. These writings contain many descriptions of Black life during slavery and shortly thereafter.

A second source of information about Black culture are interviews in which subjects are asked to directly reveal their values and practices.

A third source of information about Black culture is observation of childrearing practices. This source seems most reliable, however, it seems that one must have a thorough understanding of the Black cultural matrix in order to extract meaning from both the interviews and the observations.

The African Background Considered

As we consider the issue of whether there is a distinct culture that is shared by Black people in this country, we need to begin by reveiwing the question of whether our African heritage was destroyed during slavery.

Orland Patterson (1972:29) has suggested that there are three ways of viewing Black history. The first is the catastrophic view. This view maintains that Black history in the New World is a long list of disasters and horrors caused by white oppression. This point of view is reflected in the writings of E. Franklin Frazier, Malcolm X and Nathan Hare. Primarily, they have discussed the effects of oppression on Blacks.

The second point of view is contributionism. This view is concerned with the Black man's contributions to civilization. This approach, traditionally talked about the contribution to American civilization. But most play down the American contribution as irrelevant because America is regarded as a "sinking ship." Instead, they head for the civilization "big time . . ." Carthage and Egypt and 'great' civilizations of North Africa and the Near East. The overwhelming drift of Black historical consciousness today is toward the grand version of contributionism.

The third perspective is called survivalist. This view does not deny the horrors of slavery, but sees the Black man as having triumphed in maintaining his African roots, in spite of a destructive and hostile environment. The major proponent of this view was a white American anthropologist Melville Herskovits.

I would like to consider the survivalist perspective in the present discussion. If we are going to establish the fact that Black people have a unique culture, we must look at whether the African heritage was destroyed during slavery, and, if transmitted, what the mechanisms of retention and transmission were.

It is interesting to note that when Herskovits did his work in the 1930's, it was not well received by the Black or the white communities. Herskovits wrote that "scholars did not search for Africanisms in the behavior of Black people because the African experience was defined as disgraceful." This society had perpetuated the myth that Africans had no culture or civilization and were swinging through trees eating each other. They taught Black Americans that they had attained the highest level of culture by having been brought to America and having been civilized by the white man. In an article that was written in 1890, N. S. Shaler suggested that a worthwhile research question might be to measure the size of the brain of a native African and compare it to the size of the brain of a Black American to determine whether the Black American's brain has grown from his association with the white man.

So, with this kind of attitude on the part of the broader culture, Black people were not interested in Africa and preferred not to be reminded of their African heritage.

Herskovits first establishes the fact that Black people on this continent came primarily from West Africa. This is based on the following evidence:

1) African retentions are most evident in the Black communities of Dutch Guiana, Jamaica, Haiti, Brazil and Cuba. Intensive study of their place names, religious rites, names of gods and customs of a social and political nature shows that they can be traced to West Africa (1936:22).

2) Analysis of the manifests of slaving ships at the ports of Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia show the numbers of slaves carried by each vessel and the ports from which this human cargo was obtained. These data show, as Herskovits states, that the

> Negroes brought to America were in the main of West African descent. For the most part, they were bought or captured along the West Coast and the Guinea Negroes were by far the most numerous, constituting well over fifty per cent of the total importation (1936:23).

He states further that even if Blacks were brought later from other areas, the new arrivals would be acculturated into the behavior styles of the Blacks who were already here.

3) In looking for retentions among Blacks in the United States, Herskovits states that it will be most fruitful to study those who are lower-class because those who are in the more privileged sectors of the society have more access to the cultural resources of the dominant group and the retentions are less pure. In the United States, in addition to the differences that are made by socioeconomic status, there are geographical differences. One of the fertile areas for observing Africanisms in the United States are in some areas of South Carolina and Georgia. However, most retentions in the United States are not evident in pure form, but are reinterpreted because of the acculturation to this society. So, the student of retentions must raise his research efforts from the elementary level of description and comparison to the more sophisticated analysis of process (1951:123-46).

I will not attempt in this limited space to explore all of the analysis offered by Herskovits (1958). But it may be instructive to review a laundry list of aspects of our culture that reflect Africanisms:

- Funerals
- Magic
- Uncle Remus stories similar to the sacred myths of Africa
- Call and response between performer and audience (distinctive entertainer styles)

Motor Habits

- walking
- speaking
- laughing
- sitting
- postures
- burden carrying
- dancing
- singing
- hoeing and movements made in various industrial techniques

Ways of dressing hair -- wrapping, braiding, cornrowing

Wearing of headkerchiefs, scarves

Etiquette

1) addressing older people as "uncle" or "aunt"--treatment with respect of old folks, ancestors.

2) turning the head when laughing, putting the hand over the mouth, or in speaking to elders or other respected persons of averting the eyes and perhaps the face. It was thought that among Black children, turning the head was a sign of inattention, but when considering its West African roots, it is interpreted to be a mark of respect.

Concept of time

Approximations of time rather than punctuality - c.p. time

Cooperation and sharing

Childrearing practices

Whipping

Adoption of children

Myths about abnormal births in the folklore of Africa and southern United States

Childnaming practices

Religious expressive styles

Conception of the devil

Herskovits (1958:86-103) also dispels the myth that Black people accepted slavery. He recounts the numerous suicides, infant homicides, mutilation of crops, and participating in slave revolts. A people who struggled against their slave status, he argues would be very likely to hold onto and transmit their heritage.

There is considerable evidence that supports the view that Black people have been so isolated in this society that they have been able to participate in a distinctive culture. This is particularly true of the poor.

Johnson and Sanday (1971:137) studied the present day Black community. Their research supports the findings that Black people are sufficiently isolated in this society to preserve and transmit cultural patterns. They found certain themes that they felt characterize Blacks. They state that Black people, unlike white people have a central theme of survival.

Robin Williams (1964:236) wirtes:

> Blacks tend to belong to all-Negro churches, voluntary organizations, information groups, and to experience the bulk of their social interaction with other local Blacks, despite possible inter-racial contacts in their work, school and shopping life.

There is much evidence in the literature that membership in the Black sub-society has an effect on a wide range of behavior. For example, Henderson (1967:138) presents data to show that Black youths tend to perform very much alike on such measures of social performance as educational achievement, law-violating behavior, aspirations and perceptions of life chances. Even when they compared Black youth from poverty and nonpoverty families, single-parent homes with two-parent homes, the trend among Blacks persisted when compared to whites. They concluded that the most valid variable was participating in the Black cultural system.

Henderson (1967:139) suggests further that there are several forces that keep the Black cultural system intact and these are racial, mental, physical and social isolation. The system is set up so that contact between the races is minimal. This system is maintained by the external design of the system and also by internal factors operating within the Black community to maintain the cohesiveness.

How Culture Shapes Cognition

Now that I have presented evidence that suggests that Black people participate in a distinctive culture, let us now consider the body of literature that maintains that one's culture affects the way one learns and thinks.

Stodolsky and Lesser (1967:546) suggest that most social scientists are incorrect when they assume that the educational difficulties of minority groups will be eliminated by providing lower-class families with the things a middle-class family has--better jobs, education and housing. They maintain that ethnic groups have different patterns of intellectual abilities regardless of social-class level.

They (1967:563) conducted a study of four ethnic groups: Chinese, Jewish, Black and Puerto Rican. The children were in the first grade. Each ethnic group was divided into middle- and lower-class, as well as male and female. Four mental abilities were studied. They were verbal ability, reasoning, number facility, and space conceptualization. They found distinctive differences between the ethnic groups. Even though there was some variation caused by social class, the basic pattern of the ethnic group persisted. This finding was very surprising because educators have long maintained that social class was a more crucial factor than ethnic group membership for such factors as childrearing practices, aspirations, achievement and motivation. The order of performance for the various ethnic groups was as follows:

> Afro-Americans: verbal ability, reasoning, space conceptualization, number ability;
> Chinese: space conceptualization, number ability, reasoning, verbal ability;
> Jewish: verbal, number ability, reasoning, space conceptualization;
> Puerto Rican: space conceptualization, number ability, reasoning, verbal.

Each group was markedly different both in the level of each mental ability and in the pattern of these abilities. The most interesting finding of the study was that social class variation within the ethnic group does not alter the basic organization or pattern of mental abilities peculiar to that group.

Even though ethnic differences were greater than social class differences, Black middle-class children differed from Black lower-class children to a greater extent than the middle- and lower-class of other groups.

They found also that the scores of the four groups of middle-class children were more similar to each other than the scores of the four groups of lower-class children. This lends support to Herskovits' suggestion that differences in culture are apt to be more striking among lower-class members of an ethnic group because they are not as assimilated (p. 567-571).

There are three questions that have been raised regarding this research that can direct future efforts:

(1) What effect do these mental ability patterns have on school achievement?

a. Is there one pattern of mental abilities that produces superior school performance?

b. Are different patterns associated with superior school performance?

c. Or are different patterns associated with superior school performance in different subject matter areas?

d. If one best pattern is identified, should the child's abilities be shaped so that this pattern is produced or should the educational program be adjusted to fit the strengths and weaknesses of the child?

(2) How long do these patterns last? Do they change as a child matures? Does going to school change the ethnic group pattern?

(3) How can educators match teaching strategies to the child's patterns of mental abilities? (p. 578-580)

This research suggests some necessary changes in the whole conception of compensatory education. Instead of trying to elevate lower-class minority children to the middle-class as an end-all, we probably need to understand his ethnic culture and adapt the education he receives so that it matches the way he learns.

Rosalie Cohen has identified four styles of learning. Two are useful to consider because they are at opposite extremes. One is called the analytical style and the other the relational style. The style that is most reinforced in the school is the analytical style. The relational style generally gives rise to people who are more creative and expressive in the arts (Singleton, 1969). Cohen suggests that children develop their cognitive styles based upon the socialization they receive in their families. According to Cohen, the more structured the family, the more likely the child is to have an analytical cognitive style. The more fluid the family, the more likely that the cognitive style will be relational.

Table 1

Analytical and Relational Cognitive Styles

(compiled from Rosalie Cohen)
by Asa Hilliard

Analytical Style

Stimulus centered
parts-specific
Finds non-obvious attributes
Abstracts common or generalizable principle of a stimulus
Notices formal properties of a stimulus that have relatively stable and long lasting meanings
Ignores the idiosyncratic
Extracts from embedded context
Names extracted properties and gives them meaning in themselves
Relationships tend to be linear
Relationships which are noticed tend to be static and descriptive other than functional or inferential
Relationships seldom involve process of motivation as a basis for relations
Perception of conceptual distance between observers and observed
An objective attitude--a belief that everything takes place "out there" in the stimulus
Stimulus viewed as formal, long lasting and relatively constant, therefore there is opportunity to study it in detail
Long attention span
Long concentration span
Greater perceptual vigilance
A reflective attitude and relatively sedentary nature
Language style is standard English of controlled elaboration
Language depends upon relatively long lasting and stable meanings of words
Language depends upon formal and stable rules of organization
Communications are intended to be understood in themselves, i.e., without dependence upon non-verbal cues or idiosyncratic context
"Parts of speech" can readily be seen in nonsense sentences
Analytic speech characterized by "hesitation phenomena," pauses for verbal planning by controlled vocal modulation and revision of sentence organization to convey specific meaning, since words have formal meanings
Sometimes view of self expressed as an aspect of roles such as function to be performed
View of self tends to be in terms of status-roles

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Relational Style

Self-centered
Global
Fine descriptive characteristics
Identifies the unique
Ignores commonalities
Embedded for meaning
Relevant concepts must have special or personal relevance to observer
Meanings are unique depending upon immediate context
Generalizations and linear notions are generally unused and devalued
Parts of the stimulus and its non-obvious attributes are not given names and appear to have no meaning in themselves
Relationships tend to be functional and inferential
Since emphasis is placed on the unique and the specific, global and the discrete, on notions of difference rather than on variation or common things, the search for mechanism to form abstract generalizations is not stimulated
Responses tend to be affective
Perceived conceptual distance between the observer and the observed is narrow
The field is perceived as responding to the person
Distractable
Over involved in all activities
Easily angered by minor frustrations
Immediacy of response
Short attention span
Short concentration span
Gestalt learners
Descriptive abstraction for word selection
Words must be embedded in specific time bound context for meaning
Few synonyms in language
Language dependent upon unique context and upon many interactional characteristics of the communicants on time and place, on inflection, muscular movements and other non-verbal cues
Fluent spoken language
Strong colorful expressions
Wide range of menaingful vocal intonation and inflection
Condensed conditions sensitivity to hardly perceptible variations of mood and tone in other individuals and in their surroundings
Poor response to timed, scheduled, preplanned activities which interfere with immediacy of response
Tends to ignore structure
Self descriptions tend to point to essence
The field may have a life of its own
Personification of the inanimate
Emotional

Asa Hilliard (1976) has suggested that the school supports the analytical cognitive style. The list below contrasts schools that would be based on the analytical and the relational cognitive styles.

Table II

The School
(compiled by Asa Hilliard)

As it is in general (Analytical)	As it could be (Relational)
Rules	Freedom
Standardization	Variation
Conformity	Creativity
Memory for specific facts	Memory for essence
Regularity	Novelty
Rigid order	Flexibility
"normality"	Uniqueness
Differences equal deficits	Sameness equals oppression
Preconceive	Improvise
Precision	Approximate
Logical	Psychological
Atomistic	Global
Egocentric	Sociocentric
Convergent	Divergent
Controlled	Expressive
Meanings are universal	Meanings are contextual
Direct	Indirect
Cognitive	Affective

Table II (continued)

As it is in general (Analytical)	As it could be (Relational)
Linear	Patterned
Mechanical	Humanistic
Unison	Individual in group
Hierarchical	Democratic
Isolation	Integration
Deductive	Inductive
Scheduled	Targets of opportunity
Thing focused	People focused
Constant	Evolving
Sign oriented	Meaning oriented
Duty	Loyalty

Asa Hilliard (1976) has described the core of Afro-American cultural style.

1) Afro-American people tend to respond to things in terms of the whole picture instead of its parts. The Euro-American tends to believe that anything can be divided and sub-divided into pieces and that these pieces add up to a whole. Therefore, art is sometimes taught by numbers as well as dancing and music. That is why some people never learn to dance. They are too busy counting and analyzing.

2) Afro-American people tend to prefer inferential reasoning to deductive or inductive.

3) Afro-American people tend to prefer to focus on people and their activities rather than things. This is shown by the fact that so many Black students choose careers in the helping professions such as teaching, psychology, social work and so forth, even though there are not an abundance of jobs in those areas and the curriculum is not particularly easy.

4) Afro-American people have a keen sense of justice and are quick to analyze and perceive injustice.

5) Afro-American people tend to lean toward altruism, a concern for one's fellow man.

6) Afro-American people tend to prefer novelty, freedom and personal distinctiveness. This is shown in the development of improvisations in music and styles of clothing.

7) Afro-American people in general tend not to be "word" dependent. They tend to be very proficient in non-verbal as well as verbal communications.

There is a strong relationship between Afro-American cultural styles and Cohen's relational style.

Dr. Na'im Akbar has also proposed a description of the Afro-American child. Characteristics are:

Table III

The Afro-American Child
(Na'im Akbar)

Highly affective
Language requires wide use of coined interjections (sometimes profanity)
Considerable body language
Words depend upon context for meaning and have little meaning in themselves
Multi-connotive expressions, that is, the same word has multiple meanings
Systematic uses of nuances of intonation and other body language, such as eye movement and positioning
Preference for oral-aural modalities for learning communication
Highly sensitive to others' non-verbal cues
High people orientation

(continued)

Table III (continued)

Sociocentric
Use of internal cues for problem solving
Highly empathic
Spontaneity
Rapid adaptation to novel stimuli

Asa Hilliard relates an example of how an analytical person would function on a relational task. If this person were asked to learn an Afro-American dance such as the freak, the analytical is

> very likely to draw feet on the floor and to break the dance down into steps and to try to learn the dance 'piecemeal.' It is also very likely that the analytical will establish a 'standard' of performance which becomes 'right' or 'not right.' On the other hand, if a relational is given an analytical task, a comparable translation will take place. Details are likely to be blurred, standards faintly adhered to or the dance itself may be modified with no real concern for right or wrong so much as 'fit' or 'harmony.'"

If it is a square dance, that dance is likely to be given rhythm or some other expression of individual creativity. A case in point is The Wiz, a Broadway show that is a Black version of the Anglo-American story, The Wonderful Wizard of Oz. Another example is the change that was made in the square dance that is popular in southern United States by Africans when it was carried back to Liberia by Afro-Americans. In has rhythm, freedom, improvisation and expression. These types of transformations are usually made with any cultural form interacted with language, religion, music, humor, art, and so forth.

The realms of feeling and affect and the cognitive processes arising from interpersonal relations may have important implications for Black people. Research suggests that Black people are a very emotional people. Some scholars have suggested that the emotion-charged, people-oriented quality of Black expression is a part of an African heritage:

> Knowledge in Western societies is largely derived from such propositions as 'I think, therefore, I am.' The non-Western heritage of Afro-Americans suggests that knowledge stems from the proposition that, 'I feel therefore I think, therefore I am.'
>
> (Dixon and Foster, 1971, p. 18).

> The uniqueness of Black culture can be explained in that it is a culture whose emphasis is on the non-verbal . . . in Black culture, it is the experience that counts, not what is said.
>
> (Lester, 1969, p. 87).

This does not mean that Black people don't think or conceptualize their experience symbolically; rather, these scholars suggest that intellectual analysis disconnected from feelings leads to incomplete knowledge of the World (Haskins & Butts, 1973).

Many research studies have found Black children to be more feeling-oriented, people-oriented and more proficient at non-verbal communication than white children. It is important to determine the implications of this on their cognitive development (Gitters, Black and Mostofsky, 1972: 63-78).

Research has suggested that white children are very object-oriented. That is, they have numerous opportunities to manipulate objects and discover properties and relationships. Consequently, this society's educational system is very object-oriented. Classrooms are filled with educational hardware and technology--books, listening stations, learning centers, televisions, programmed instruction, learning kits and so forth.

Research with Black children in contrast has found them to be very people oriented (Young 1970). Many Black children grow up in large families where they have a great deal of human interaction. This is an interesting aspect of African culture. While traveling in Africa, I was interested in the kinds of dolls with which the children play. I was told by a Ghanaian mother that African children don't play with dolls, they play with their mother's babies! This high degree of people-orientation may account for the indifference with which some Black children regard books and devices. It may be that this is a cultural trait that may need to be acknowledged with the result being more human interaction in the learning process.

Hope Leichter (1973:244) develops the concept of educative style. She uses the term educative style to include school and non-school institutions. There should be an exploration of the "cultural distance" in educational values between parents and teachers. To what extent does the school reinforce, complement, contradict, or inhibit the efforts of the family and community and to what extent does the family and community reinforce, complement, contradict or inhibit the efforts of the school. In her opinion, note should be taken of the fact that children learn from many persons as well as school teachers. Educators should gain an understanding of how the child moves through and utilizes diverse educative experiences over a lifetime (239).

Leichter warns against the current trend of determining educational policy by considering single variables and treating aspects of education in isolation. The concept of educative style encompasses the total social (cultural) situation of the individual. She describes the confusion that has resulted in these disjointed considerations of the influences of the culture on education. An example is that one group of policy makers in early childhood education will advocate removing the lower-income child from the home and providing compensatory experiences; and others will advocate subsidizing the mothers to remain at home with their children instead of working. Some of the extremes of this kind of debate could be averted if some theoretical perspective could postulate the best combination of family, community, and school effort.

Leichter observes:

> In designing programs and considering questions of the most effective points for education intervention, the issue of how individuals combine educative experiences and the styles by which they educate themselves, both in early childhood and later in life is clearly fundamental (249).

Play Behavior as an Indicator of Cognitive Style

Research into the play behavior of children has been extensive. However, research into the play behavior of Black children has been limited. An examination of the existing studies reveals a preoccupation with: 1) comparing the play styles of Black and white children; and 2) teaching Black children certain play styles which are thought to significantly affect other important cognitive variables. The overriding orientation is to assess a play style and then correlate the behavior with a score on a standardized instrument. Even though some scholars of play have suggested that one's culture shapes one's play, few if any scholars have conducted ethnographical studies of the play of Black children to determine the manner in which the Black milieu shapes the play behavior and expressive styles of Black children. If it is true that one's culture shapes one's cognitive style, there is a need for research in early childhood to specifically describe that process.

Most studies of child's play are interested in some aspect of the following dimensions:

time for play
place for play
things for play
people for play

The study of Black children's play should consider those features.

However, the study of Black children's behavior that is proposed herein must be broadened beyond the present focus of play research. A comprehensive ethnographical analysis of the self-directed behavior of Black children in their home environment must precede a cognitive analysis of play. We must first create a conceptualization of the cultural context of Black children's behavior before we can extract meaning from the behavior that that context gives rise to. It is folly to attempt an analysis of the cognitive styles of Black children engaged in any type of behavior given the present state of social science thought and understanding of the Black cultural milieu.

We must even broaden our conception of play to encompass Black children's expressive styles which includes a range of behavior, tastes and preferences that we might not ordinarily include as play behavior in the strictest sense of the word. We must conduct a wide-ranging examination of all aspects of at-home interaction that can provide descriptive information about the world-view of the Black child. There are several expressive modes of Black culture tnat should be examined:

movement
dance
music
environmental arts
fashion arts
folklore
nutrition
magico-spiritual beliefs

Movement

This would be an examination of the amount of space that is utilized during play. Consideration would also be given to the manner in which space is utilized. It would be interesting to determine the amount of time the child spends in quiet activities as compared with active movement. This may have implications for the length of time adults should require children to sit and concentrate on tasks. Cursory observations by this writer suggest that Black children (particularly males) are very active in their home environments and are penalized as hyperactive in the schools.

Dance

The quality of movement needs to be described. What are the stages by which Black children respond to music? How much reinforcement are they given as toddlers to dance in addition to encouragement to walk. Could early expressions of rhythm through dance have any influence upon the physical precocity of Black children that has often been observed and reported? Does early proficiency in dance affect mathematical ability in terms of early proficiency in utilizing and locating oneself in space?

Music

How prevalent is music in the Black environment? What is the preferred type of music? How often are songs sung to children and by children? What songs are sung? What is responsible for the remarkable ability Black children demonstrate to memorize popular songs? How can that ability be utilized in other types of learnings?

Environmental Arts

There is a need to conduct an ethnographical study of Black home environments. Most descriptions of Black home environments have focused upon deprivation as defined by white America. A description of the environments in which Black children live, play and develop should encompass artistic descriptors as well as analyses of indicators of affluence and educational enrichment. Note should be taken of color preferences in furnishings in Black homes as well as any other distinctive features in decor, furniture styles and arrangement. This information may be useful in designing learning environments for Black children. It would be interesting, for example, if it were discovered that Black children learned most effectively or exhibited distinctive moods based upon the colors that are used on the walls of the classroom.

Fashion Arts

It has long been an accepted fact that Black people have emphasized personal distinctiveness in their dress. Black males in particular have impacted the fashion industry and set many trends among which are wide-leg pants as well as the inclusion of bright colors in men's suits and shirts. It may be interesting to study types of clothing that are worn by Black children for various occasions. This study would note the choice of colors, fabrics and styles. It might be interesting to compare the clothing that is worn at home for play and that which is worn at school. It would be interesting to discover the extent to which the children are dressed according to the tastes of their parents or whether and at what age they begin to express preferences and make choices. Then those choices could be analyzed to determine the extent to which they are shaped by the Black cultural milieu. Fashion is a very important cultural vehicle for expressing creativity.

Folklore

An ethnographical study of expressive styles should record the folklore of Black children. Most studies of language of Black children are interested in the language from a linguistic perspective, that is, the structure of its usage. However, it may also be useful to study the verbal skills of Black children, illustrated by: rappin,' shuckin' and jivin,' running it down, coppin' a plea, signifyin' an' soundin.' There are also stylistic dimensions of the oral tradition in Black culture as described by Silverman (1973): call and response, rhythmic pattern, spontaneity and concreteness.

In considering folklore, an ethnographical study should be conducted of games, stories, chants, jump rope rhymes, curse words, playin' the dozens. Once these cultural artifacts are recorded, they can perhaps be analyzed to ascertain the psychological processes they reflect.

There may also be another aspect of play behavior that is affected by the folklore of the Black community. An understanding of Black folklore would facilitate the interpretation of fantasy among Black children. Fantasy is very important in the development of children. The ability to fantasize and imagine is very closely related to the development of creative thought and cognitive abilities. However, it is important to understand the way in which the culture of the Black community affects the fantasy of Black children.

Nutrition

There is a popular slogan that says, "what you eat is what you are." If that is true, then study of the nutritional environment of Black children may be important in interpreting their behavior. This study of Black foods should encompass food selection and spicing. There should be definite trends in these areas that are common to Black people and related to the African heritage. This information would have obvious implications for health services. However, it would also be helpful in planning nutritional curricula for Black children in the schools. Many day care and child development programs design their menus from nutrition manuals with little thought or understanding of the nutritional preferences of children that have been shaped by their culture. Many of the meals that are prepared in institutional settings are rejected by the children. This may add another area in which school is defined by the child to be a strange alien environment.

Joyce Rookwood* of the Administration for Children, Youth and Families/DHEW suggests investigating the feeding patterns of Black families. This information could be useful to programs like Head Start. Presently teachers are instructed to utilize "family style" feeding in which the children are seated in groups and conversation is encouraged. Ms. Rookwood first questions the definition of "family style"--whose family? She observed a teacher in a Head Start center who was having the children eat one by one. She questioned the teacher about the practice. The teacher replied that this pattern of eating was more similar to the style of eating of many of the children at home wherein family members "catch a plate" whenever they arrive and are hungry. She found that the children played less at the table, ate more and seemed to feel better, possibly from better digestion. The teacher stated that children eat better when they can concentrate on eating rather than telling the teacher the color of the peas.

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*Comment offered during a seminar conducted by the writer at the annual meeting of the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) in New York City, August 1978.

Magical-Spiritual Beliefs

The spiritual mode should be studied as an expression of the cosmology of the Black child. A deep concern with the spiritual and the supernatural among Black children has been noted in their creative activities.* Black children have been observed to express interest in ghosts and religious rituals. Examining these modes will help to better understand the cosmology or world-view of the Black child and determine the implications for concept development.

This discussion clearly points out the need for further research in this area. It is also clear to see that it is important for the members of the ethnic groups to take the leadership in research that defines their own culture and learning styles.

The story has been told of a child named Akin who was accustomed to hearing bedtime stories each night that told of Tarzan and the Lion. In each episode, Tarzan always defeated the Lion. So, one night, Akin asked his mother when the Lion was going to win. His mother closed the book and signed, "Honey, I guess the Lion will beat Tarzan, when lions begin to write books."

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*Personal conversation with Michele Rubin, Director of Arts-in-Education at Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia, 1975.

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Experience of Community Life: Applying an Open-System Model of Community

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Abstract

An open system model was applied in an exploratory effort to assess individual's experience of community life. Variables related to community culture (perception of community strengths, deficits, support, and satisfaction) and to community processes (problem solving, information dissemination, power/influence, and resource utilization) were defined and included in a survey interview format. It was predicted that racial composition of community (Black and White) and involvement of individuals in community (service providers, active and inactive citizens) would affect perceptions of community culture and processes. Twenty-eight service providers, 32 active and 42 inactive citizens from a predominantly White and predominantly Black community were interviewed. Overall differences were obtained with respect to racial composition on culture and process variables. Respondents from the Black community reported more frequent and distressing problems, cited fewer alternatives in problem solving and tended to rely more heavily on informal and personal support networks than White respondents. Similarly, significant differences were found with respect to role. Service providers cited more strengths and deficits, indicated a higher level of satisfaction, knew about and used more services, had greater access to information and influential persons, and relied more on formal resources to solve problems than did citizens. Active citizens showed a similar pattern of significant differences when compared to inactive citizens alone but in addition cited a greater number of alternatives and were better able to combine the use of both formal and informal resources than both service providers and inactive citizens. Implications of these findings for community assessment and the planning of service delivery are discussed.

Introduction

Over the past decade, there has been a renewed and growing concern with the social environments in which people live, and how these environments affect individual coping and well-being. Personality theorists, for example, have examined the influences of situational variables upon individual behavior (Bowers, 1974; Ekehammer, 1973; Endler & Magnusson, 1976). Moreover, attempts to describe the psychosocial properties of treatment environments (Moos, 1974) have stimulated a broad range of effort to classify environments and to relate various climate dimensions to subsequent behavior (Moos & Max, 1977; Pervin, 1978).

Using behavioral observations rather than individual perceptions as a starting point, Barker (1968) has developed a behavioral ecology to explain molar behavior as a function of the social content within which it occurs. The focus of this paper, though, is on another environmental construct that has been both enduring and elusive--that of "community."

The interest in community as an organizing construct is hardly new. Early sociological field research provided "case studies of American communities" (Dollard, 1957; Gans, 1962; Lynd & Lynd, 1937; Nisbet, 1953; Seeley, Sim & Loosley, 1956) which later stimulated examination of more specific community processes, for example, power structure within communities (Mills, 1956). In the recent past, a broad-based concern

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with the effects of community structure and processes upon quality of life by community residents themselves has been reflected in the growth of "alternative" communal living structures (Zax & Specter, 1974) and planned communities (Klein, 1977).

Despite numerous efforts at community analysis from both sociological and psychological perspectives, the complex relationship between the individual and the community remains unclear. This relationship will be explored by examining individual perceptions of community culture and self report behavioral indices of participation in community processes. Because racial composition of community and member's role (i.e., involvement in the community's governance and service pattern) may influence experience of community life, the affects of race and role will be examined as well. A model of community functioning will be presented first to provide a framework for organizing our understanding of how individuals relate to their community.

Present community assessment techniques tend to be divorced from any theory of community functioning. To date, characteristic methods of community analysis have involved: (1) epidemiological studies, which monitor the incidents of diseases and mental disorders (Dohrenwend & Dohrenwend, 1969); (2) social indicators analyses, which rely on census data to characterize communities along a number of indices, for example, ethnicity, family life cycle (Goldsmith, Unger, Rosen, Shembaugh & Windle, 1975); and (3) community surveys, which tap residents' perceptions of community needs and problems (Warheit, Bell & Schwab, 1974). Lacking an adequate model of community functioning, these approaches are unable to explain differences among communities, the implications of these differences for subsets of community residents, and how to formulate strategies for changing communities.

The need for an approach to community analysis rooted in a model of community functioning has been emphasized repeatedly by psychologists intimately involved in the study of communities. Glidewell (1969), Iscoe (1974), Kelly (1971), Klein (1968) and Rappaport (1977) have all acknowledged the complexity of community systems. Each has made explicit the need for a definable framework or theory to guide the development of a useful assessment procedure, and the evaluation of subsequent interventions. As each investigator has focused on a different aspect of community functioning, a seeming lack of integration of the research in this area has resulted. Sarason (1974), for example, focuses on the individual's "psychological sense of community" as the most important indicator of the extent to which a community is effective in promoting social integration. The development of supportive networks is seen as a primary process through which this integration occurs. Alternatively, Iscoe (1974) focuses on problem-solving. He defines the competent community as one that is able to cope effectively with problems, that obtains, develops, and utilizes required resources, and that, in doing so, provides an array of possibilities and alternatives. Unfortunately, there has been little integration of these various notions of community into a model which would facilitate development of workable assessment tools and testable hypotheses.

Model of Community Functioning: Definitions

The present authors have attempted to synthesize previous work and to define operationally preliminary model for community analysis (Hurley, 1977). Employing the framework of general systems theorists, we have viewed the community as a dynamic and open social system that is continuously transacting with both its own individual members as well as the larger environment; the community transforms energy and resources in order to produce certain outputs needed for survival. Thus community is defined as a social system, consisting of a collection of individuals, functioning and interacting within a matrix of mutually-influential processes. These individuals and processes are organized within a general structure and operate within a commonly established culture. The community is seen as constantly evolving; as continuously transforming energy and resources; and engaging in an ongoing exchange with the systems in its environment. This general definition of community also outlines the specific parameters, input, throughput and output, which describes the community's use of resources and its impact on the lives of its individual members, its relationship to the larger environment, and its own system maintenance (see Figure 1). These multiple parameters have all been used in Community or Organizational Psychology as theoretically and/or operationally defined indices of effective human systems.

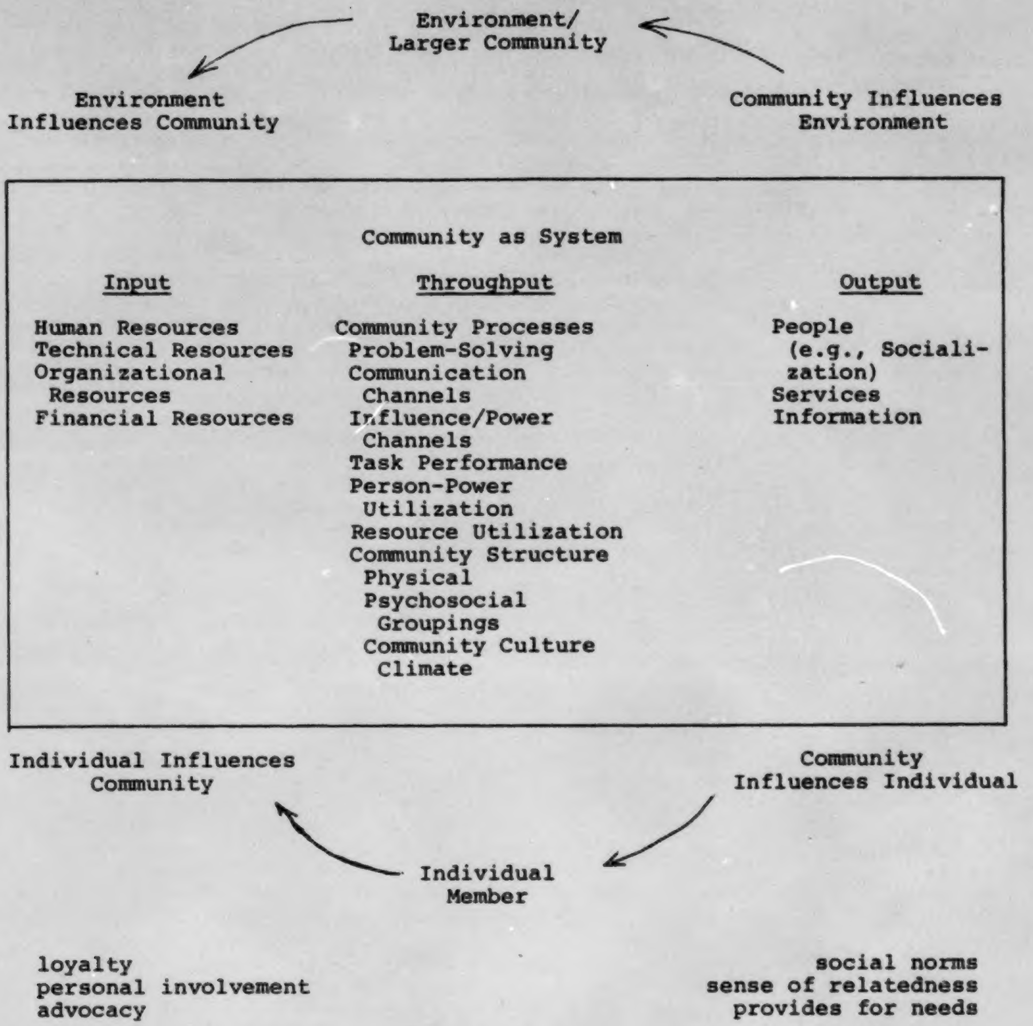
Environment/
Larger Community
Environment
Influences Community
Community Influences
Environment
Community as System
Input
Human Resources
Technical Resources
Organizational
Resources
Financial Resources
Throughput
Community Processes
Problem-Solving
Communication
Channels
Influence/Power
Channels
Task Performance
Person-Power
Utilization
Resource Utilization
Community Structure
Physical
Psychosocial
Groupings
Community Culture
Climate
Output
People
(e.g., Socialization)
Services
Information
Individual Influences
Community
Community
Influences Individual
Individual
Member
loyalty
personal involvement
advocacy
social norms
sense of relatedness
provides for needs

Figure 1. Model for Assessing Community Effectiveness (adapted from Hurley, 1976).

An important principle of general systems theory is the need for attending to the boundary exchanges between a system and its environment. A community system needs an effective symbiotic relationship with the other systems in its larger environment if it is to acquire the resources needed for an acceptable quality of life for its members. Only then can it insure a viable output-input cycle that is so necessary for its survival. The absence of such a link can have dire consequences for community life. For example, Hurley, Barbarin and Mitchell (in press), in a discussion of institutional racism, outline the negative impact of inequitable resource distribution by external systems upon the climate and processes of a minority community. On the other hand, the community contributes to the effectiveness of the boundary exchange and feedback process with other systems by providing the larger environment with desirable and meaningful outputs.

The community as a system must also have some stable mechanisms through which resources are translated into effective outputs (e.g., socialization of individuals; provision of services). Existing analyses of community point to the importance of the processes through which a community operates, the structure within which these processes are organized, and the culture in accordance with which these operations occur (Sanders, 1966; Mann, 1978; Rappaport, 1977).

Community processes refer to those operations by which a community transforms inputs to meet its own need as a system, the needs of its larger environment, and the needs of individual members. The processes especially relevant to effective community functioning appear to be resource utilization, person-power, utilization, task performance, problem-solving, communication channels, influence/power channels, and boundary exchange. Communication channels, for example, would refer to the effectiveness of various communication networks in the community (e.g., television, radio, newsletters, informal networks, etc.) in relaying information needed by members to engage effectively in particular tasks (e.g., learning of employment opportunities, available services, etc.). In contrast, influence channels refer to the individual's accessibility to a varied range of informal and formal persons and organizations which have varied influence (or are perceived to have influence) in accomplishing tasks.

Such processes, though, occur with a given structure. Community structure here refers to the physical context and psychosocial groupings (e.g., age, race, sex, income)within a given community which influence how community processes occur. For example, disparate income groupings within a community might influence how communication channels and influence patterns operate.

Community culture is here defined as the set of values, identity, priorities, rules, and psychosocial climate which serve as norms to guide a community's functioning. For example, beliefs about discrepancies among groups of different incomes or races may serve to discourage interpersonal contact and therefore reinforce the separateness. Such a set of norms provide order for individual members and clarify what is expected of them within the system.

Another issue addressed by the proposed model is the relationship between individuals and the community. It is asserted here that any individual member is more than the particular system of which he/she is a part. In that sense, a system must make a valuable output in relation to its own members. The relationship of individual and community takes place within a definite climate and is maintained through specific contributions from the system to the individual. The individual member, in turn, makes continued input to the system. Development of a climate that fosters such a cycle is likely to maintain and enhance the effectiveness of both the individual and the system.

The above model should allow more precise predictions about how residents perceive and respond to their community. The individual's experience of community is examined in this study as a function of both the racial composition of the community, and the individual's role in relation to community governance (i.e., service provider, active citizen, inactive citizen).

There is evidence to suggest that experiences of community life may differ across ethnic or racial groups. For example, it has been shown that vestiges of Africanisms influence the world-views of Afro-Americans such that Afro-American communities exhibit a preference for collective over individual modes of action (Nobles, 1976). Moreover, Jones (1972), Nobles (1972), and Padilla and Aranda (1974) argue that factors such as discrimination, low socioeconomic status, acculturation, and experience of rapid social change constitute special challenges to the coping skills of minority populations. In response to these stresses, members of the black community tend to rely more heavily on informal support networks for dealing with day-to-day problems than whites (Warren, 1976). One could speculate that the availability and use of informal networks is likely to influence profoundly the culture of a community because it seemingly would contribute to the experience of cohesion and support. Such differences between black and white communities, though, have not come under sufficiently systematic investigation.

A second variable influencing experience of community is the role or involvement of individuals relative to community task performance (i.e., performance of governance and service functions). Communities have been defined as social systems involving sets of functions, norms, and standardized processes for the utilization of resources and accomplishment of tasks. Greenberg (1974) views such mechanisms as evolving into supportive networks, and argues that community feeling is heightened when there is participation of members in these networks and functions. Given the model of community previously described, one's perception and evaluation of community strengths, deficits, and resources would differ as a function of how one typically relates to community problem-solving networks. Many previous attempts at assessing various community priorities through survey methods have looked at residents' views, but have failed to differentiate these respondents beyond the dispositionally-relevant demographic characteristics of age, race, sex, income, and geographic area (McWilliams & Norris, 1974; Ring & Schein, 1970; Urban Studies Center, 1974, 1975). The authors feel that the role construct may be more useful than static demographic variables. Indeed, several studies suggest that individuals with different roles perceive community priorities differently (Richardson & Scutchfield, 1973; Shaver & Cole, 1973). Therefore, the categories of service provider, active citizen, and inactive citizen have been devised as one way of characterizing role membership in community task performance (i.e., community governance), a community process which is seen as an important context for understanding community experience.

Problem Statement

This study represents an initial attempt to operationalize a model for assessing community functioning and to examine individual differences in the experience of community by taking into account two important but frequently ignored variables--racial composition of community (i.e., predominantly black and predominantly white) and individual's roles with regard to community governance (i.e., service provider, active citizen, inactive citizen). The variables of racial composition and role of its members are examined in terms of their effect upon how individuals experience community culture and processes. It is expected that: (1) individuals in different community roles will vary in perceptions of their community's culture and in their participation in its processes; and (2) racial composition of a community will affect an individual's perception of community and will relate differently to its processes, especially with respect to resources used in problem solving.

One final issue involves specification of the sources of data and methodologies appropriate for community analysis. To date, community assessment techniques have ranged from individual perceptions of community (i.e., survey data) to descriptions of population characteristics (i.e., social indicators analysis). More recently, advocates of ecological approaches have argued for increased applications of behavior setting analysis to communities (Barker & Schoggen, 1973). Which of these most accurately reflects community functioning? The authors here suggest that each approach contributes unique, but interrelated, information about community functioning. In their study the authors have chosen to measure individual member's perception of the component community parameters specified by the theoretical framework outlined previously. Although this study uses individual perceptions of community as a basis for references about community processes, it is acknowledged that other quite viable methods need to be implemented and integrated with the kind of self-report data employed here.

Method

Participants

Two communities in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area that differed significantly in terms of racial composition (one being 90% white, the other 90% black) were selected. The black and white communities were similar in geographic size, education level, number of husband-wife households, number of families below poverty level, and population density. They were also similar in population size (9,000 vs. 13,000,respectively). The median family income for the black community was somewhat less than that of the white community ($10,000 vs. $13.000). Both towns were part of the same county political structure and were relatively stable with respect to ethnic make-up and transiency of population. Within each community, members were categorized according to role as either active citizens, inactive citizens, or service providers. A service provider (N = 28) was defined on the basis of formal employment by a service delivery system critical to the community. Mental health, public health, juvenile service, social service, family service, church, school, police, fire department, and town government officials were included. About 5 of the 13 service providers in the predominantly black town and 7 of the 15 service providers in the predominantly white town actually resided in the communities they served. An active citizen (N - 32) was defined as a person with no such formal role who was actively involved in other community forums or group activities (e.g., community boards, town meetings, civic associations) established to influence community processes. Individuals were recruited for this study from such meetings. Inactive citizens (N =52) were defined as those residents who do not involve themselves in collective efforts to monitor or influence the functioning of the formal systems in their communities, though they may be quite active in other areas (i.e., work environment, home, social). Inactive citizens were selected on the basis of a random sampling procedure applied to each town. Blocks were randomly selected using a stratified procedure based on the type of housing (single family vs. apartment). Next, an equal number of households were drawn randomly from each set of blocks. Because the survey was well publicized in the town and done conjointly with the health department, the refusal rate was negligible (less than 5%). In all, there were not significant differences among the six groups with respect to age, sex, or length of residence in the town. On the average, participants lived or worked in their respective communities for 12 years. One hundred and two respondents participated in a structured interview which took approximately 30 minutes to complete.

Table 1

Number of Participants by Race, Age and Sex

				Black Community			White Community		
	Total	Total Black	Total White	Active	In-active	Service Provider	Active	In-active	Service Provider
Males (N)	57	23	34	6	8	9	10	14	10
Females (N)	45	24	21	9	11	4	7	9	5
Seniors (55 and up)	23	7	16	0	6	1	5	9	2
Adults (35-54)	56	28	28	13	7	8	9	10	9
Young Adult (20-34)	21	12	9	2	6	4	3	4	2

Measures

A community survey (Barbarin & Hurley, note 1) was designed to serve as a general community assessment tool and to gather data that might be relevant to community intervention. The model of community described earlier emphasized the importance of community culture and processes as dimensions which best predict the effectiveness of community functioning. They are important in that they provide a sense of the resources and support networks available to a community and the manner in which these networks are used to cope with problems. It contains clusters of specific questions (open-ended, Likert Scale, and yes-no format) designed to obtain information about each of the dependent variables specified as important by the model of community outlined previously:

Community Culture

1. Community Strengths--an open-ended question asking what are the most important things that the resident likes about the community. For each citizen, the number of responses was totaled and, in addition, each was coded as being related to the physical (e.g., good roads), service (e.g., health care), or interpersonal (people related) (e.g., friendly neighbors) aspects of the community. Forty-five community psychology undergraduate students independently rated the subsequent responses as people, service, or physical related. They reached 90.3% agreement on the people-related items, 89.6% agreement on the service-related items, and 78.2% agreement on the physical items.

2. Community Satisfaction--a 7-point Likert scale rating of how much residents like living in their community.

3. Community Support--a 7-point Likert rating of perceived probability that neighbors will help in time of difficulty.

4. Community Deficits: Number--an open-ended question asking for the most important community needs which are not met in the community. As with community strengths, the number of responses are totaled as well as being coded as being people, service, or physical related. Percent of agreement by 45 undergraduate raters was 86.3% for people related responses, 86.1 for service related, and 69.5% for physical related.

5. Community Deficits: Rating--thirteen community problems which are rated along a 7-point Likert scale in terms of degree of severity for the community. These needs include: drug abuse, alcoholism, juvenile delinquency, broken families, public transportation, lack of conveniently located stores, education, road maintanance, upkeep of property, personal safety in the streets, respect for police, services for senior citizens, and emergency home services and transportation for the sick and elderly.

6. Problem-Solving: Number of Alternatives--respondents were asked to solve simulated problems related to consumer, mental health, financial, and service planning issues. Average number of alternative solutions per problem was calculated.

7. Problem-Solving: Style--responses to the simulated problems described above were also coded for the person's level of involvement in the problem solution.

8. Information Channels--respondents were asked to identify the channels that they used to get information about services available and events happening in the town. Channels listed were relatives, friends, television, newspaper, radio, and other. The number of channels utilized by each respondent was scored.

9. Influence Channels--respondents were asked to identify the five most influential persons in their town in terms of getting things done, people from whom effective assistance can be obtained. Responses were scored in terms of the number of people identified and the types of occupations of the individuals named (e.g., neighbor, clergy, elected official, business person).

10. Service utilization index--five human service organizations (i.e., town government,police, social services, mental health center, local churches) were presented to participants, who were asked to rate: (a) knowledge of services offered by each institution, (b) knowledge of location of each service institution, (c) acquaintance with staff, and (d) degree of utilization. Affirmative responses to each question were scored as one, and a service utilization index was derived by summing and averaging across all services.

11. Service utilization rating--respondents were asked to rate the overall performance of each of the above service organizations on a four-point scale (i.e., poor to excellent).

Results

Intercorrelations among all dimensions were performed in order to examine the psychometric properties of the questionnaire. In addition, multivariate analyses of variance were performed in order to test the hypotheses.

Scale validation

It was expected that questions on the survey instrument reflecting community culture (i.e., community strength, community satisfaction, community support, community deficits, problem-rating) would intercorrelate, as would questions reflecting community processes (i.e., problem-solving, alternatives, problem-solving style, information channels, resource utilization index, resource (service) rating). The correlations in Table 2 show this to generally be the case. With

Table 2
Intercorrelations of Questionnaire Items

		Community Culture					Community Processes					
		Community strengths	Community satisfaction	Community support	Community deficits: number	Community deficits: rating	Problem-solving: alternatives	Problem-solving: style	Information channel	Influence channels	Resource utilization index	Resource (service) rating
Community Culture	Community strengths	—	.36**	.14	.01	-.02	.33**	.20*	.30**	.21*	-.30**	-.05
	Community satisfaction		—	.42**	.01	-.23*	.10	.05	.15	.11	.29**	.05
	Community support			—	.01	-.17*	.13	.20*	.22*	.12	.21*	.06
	Community deficits: number				—	.37**	.14	.13	.31**	.21**	.31**	-.29**
	Community deficits: rating					—	.08	.11	.14	.01	.17*	-.24**
Community Processes	Problem-solving: alternatives						—	.51**	.37**	.18*	.40**	-.21*
	Problem-solving style							—	.29**	.15	.33**	-.17*
	Information channels								—	.25**	.30**	-.15
	Influence channels									—	.38**	-.12
	Resource utilization index										—	-.13
	Resource (service) rating											—

*p <.05
**p <.01

regard to community culture variables, rating of community satisfaction correlates strongly with rating of community support ($r = .42$) and number of community strengths ($r = .36$). Similarly, the rating of severity of community problems correlates significantly with the number of community deficits cited ($r = .37$). Community processes, number of problem-solving alternatives, problem-solving style, information channels, and resource utilization are all highly correlated. Thus, a person who has greater access to information and influence channels, and who is knowledgeable about resource (service) systems, is also likely to generate a greater number of problem solutions and have a more direct and involved problem solving style. Also, measures of community culture, particularly perceptions of community strengths, are moderately related to measures of community process. While these correlations are based on a limited data set, the pattern of relationships provides support regarding the internal consistency of these theoretically derived dimensions of community.

Racial Composition of Community

Multivariate analysis of variance revealed that there were significant differences between the two communities in terms of how individuals experienced community culture $F(1,93) = 4.60$, p .001 and related to community processes $F(1,93 = 3.30$, p .006 (see Table 3). For the culture related variables, there were striking similarities as well as differences

Table 3

Mean and Standard Deviation Scores of Community Culture and Community Process Variables by Race of Town

	White Community	Black Community	F Scores
1. Community Culture	(N=55)	(N=44)	4.60***[1] (df=1,93)
Community Strengths (number)	1.61 (.99)	1.34 (.89)	2.34
Community Deficits (number)	2.11 (1.12)	2.68 (.74)	10.63***
(rating of problems)	3.62 (1.13)	4.52 (1.21)	15.94***
Satisfaction (rating)	5.58 (1.51)	5.34 (1.82)	0.57
Support (rating)	5.76 (1.58)	5.41 (2.05)	0.96
2. Community Processes	(N=53)	(N=47)	3.30**[1] (df=1,94)
Service Utilization (overall index)	2.39 (.90)	2.28 (.86)	0.60
(rating of services)	3.65 (.61)	3.51 (.74)	1.11
Information Channels (number)	2.15 (1.71)	2.62 (1.75)	2.06
Influence Process (number)	2.43 (1.82	2.25 (1.88)	0.26
Problem Solving (style)	3.04 (.66)	3.09 (.71)	0.12
(number of alternatives)	1.51 (.61)	1.26 (.57)	5.83*

*$p < .05$ **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

[1] Multivariate F score. All other F scores reported are univariate F scores, interpretable given significance of multivariate F.

between the two communities. When the univariate F-values were inspected, no significant differences were found between respondents of the black and white communities with respect to perceptions in their communities and sense of support from neighbors. Analysis of the standard discriminant function coefficients suggests that the main differences in the culture-related cluster are due to the variable of community deficits. Here, respondents of the black community reported a greater number and severity of deficits. Subsequent chi-square analysis of deficit types revealed that the members of the black community cited a significantly greater number of deficits related to lack of formal services (62%) than did members of the white community (43%) (x^2 (2) = 5.74, $p < .01$).

The parameters related to community processes further delineate different patterns of community functioning. The significant multivariate F-value for community processes suggests that there were overall differences between groups in problem solving styles, knowledge of resources, and utilization of resource networks $F(1,94) = 3.30$, $p < .01$. Members of the white community cited a significantly greater number of potential influence channels (2.43 vs. 2.25) and had a greater familiarity with service institutions (2.39 vs. 2.28). Further analysis revealed that each group tended to rely on different types of resource networks and support systems. While members of the white community tended to have a greater reliance on formal resources (e.g., mental health center, Department of Social Services, etc.), members of the black community showed a significantly greater use of personal and informal resources (e.g., family, friends, civic associations, etc.) $x^2(7) = 22.73$, $p < .05$. When asked to name powerful persons in terms of the community's influence channels, members of the white community cited town officials, county officials, and local business persons as their three most frequent responses. For members of the black community, town officials, civic association members, and clergy were the most frequently cited resources. In responding to similar problems, each town relies on different sets of resource networks and support systems.

Role of Community Members

Even more extensive differences emerged in the way people related to their communities as a function of their role as either active citizens, inactive citizens, or service providers (see Table 4). In terms of community culture (multivariate $F(2,93) = 4.81$, $p < .001$) there were significant differences on all of the dependent variables assessing culture except support. With respect to community processes, (multivariate $F(2,94) = 6.73$, $p < .001$), there were significant differences for the parameters of service utilization, number of information sources and influence channels used, and problem-solving styles and solutions. These results are discussed in more detail in terms of the profiles presented by service providers, active citizens, and inactive citizens.

Service Providers

Service providers presented an interesting pattern in terms of their perception of community culture. They were able to name slightly more community strengths (*M* = 1.85) than active (*M* = 1.66) and inactive citizens (*M* = 1.25), and reported a high degree of satisfaction in working with these towns. Service providers nonetheless, cited a significantly greater number of community deficits (*M* = 2.74) than did active (*M* = 2.69) or inactive (*M* = 1.85) residents themselves, and rated a number of community problems as more severe (*M* = 4.42) than either citizen group (*M* = 4.20 and 3.61). There were no differences in perceived lack of formal services--but service providers rated people-related problems (e.g., alcoholism, juvenile delinquency) as significantly more severe (*M* = 4.48) than did residents (Active, *M* = 4.01, Inactive, *M* = 3.36).

There were also significant differences in the way in which service providers related to community processes. They knew about and utilized services to a greater degree than did active citizens. They used a greater variety of information sources to learn about available resources. Both groups displayed an active and involved style of approaching problems. Highly significant differences existed, though, in the types of resources utilized. Service providers relied primarily on formal resources--CMHC, Department of Social Services--while active citizens relied more on informal resources--i.e., neighbors, local civic groups, etc. Also consistent was the service providers' identification of the greatest number of influence channels, most frequently channels of a formal political nature. Service providers, then, seem to rely on the existing formal resources, and fail to utilize equally the indigenous, informal

Table 4

Mean and Standard Deviation Scores of Community Culture and Community Process Variables by Role

	Service Provider	Active Citizen	Inactive Citizens	F Scores
1. Community Culture	(N=27)	(N=32)	(N=40)	4.81***
				(df=2,93)
Community Strengths	1.85	1.66	1.25	6.22**
(number)	(.99)	(.87)	(.88)	
Community Deficits	2.74	2.69	1.85	11.29***
(number)	(.76)	(.64)	(1.17)	
(rating of problems)	4.42	4.20	3.61	4.42*
	(.94)	(1.49)	(1.12)	
Satisfaction	6.07	5.62	4.95	4.33*
(rating)	(1.00)	(1.29)	(2.08)	
Support	5.44	6.06	5.35	1.62
(rating)	(1.50)	(1.04)	(2.35)	
2 Community Processes	(N=26)	(N=32)	(N=42)	6.73***
				(df=2,94)
Service Utilization	3.04	2.54	1.75	28.85***
(overall index)	(.69)	(.64)	(.75)	
(rating of services)	3.41	3.56	3.72	1.69
	(.72)	(.59)	(.70)	
Information Channels	3.00	2.75	1.69	6.37**
(number)	(2.30)	(1.52)	(1.22)	
Influence Process	3.12	2.75	1.57	7.68***
(number)	(1.84)	(1.78)	(1.62)	
Problem Solving	3.26	3.03	2.74	9.31***
(style)	(.61)	(.47)	(.74)	
(number of alternatives)	1.58	1.66	1.07	13.84***
	(.50)	(.65)	(.46)	

*p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Active Citizens

Like the service providers, active citizens were able to name more community strengths and deficits than were inactive citizens, and experienced a considerably greater degree of satisfaction with their community than did inactive citizens. Active citizens reported the greatest sense of support from neighbors of the three groups. In terms of experiencing community processes, active citizens showed a high degree of service utilization, as well as a highly active problem-solving style. What characterized this group most strikingly was their use of community resources. Active citizens were able to cite the greatest number of alternatives in response to problem situations, and they showed the greatest flexibility in drawing upon formal, informal and personal resources. In terms of relative experience of community, active citizens reported a consistently more positive sense of community and its processes than inactive citizens, while at the same time reporting a greater sense of problems in the community.

Inactive Citizens

Inactive citizens presented a contrasting pattern. These citizens cited fewer community strengths and deficits, and experience the greatest dissatisfaction. Inactive citizens utilized services to a significantly lesser degree than did active citizens and service providers. They used fewer information sources to learn about resources and had fewer links with the resource networks of their community. When asked to name the important influence channels in their community, over one-third of the inactive citizens replied "none" or "don't know." The significant positive correlation between knowledge and utilization of resources and experience of satisfaction suggests a link between one's involvement with community processes and the favorableness of community experiences.

This pattern was also consistent across problem-solving styles. Inactive citizens cited a significantly fewer number of alternatives to a variety of hypothetical problem situations, and their problem-solving style was a significantly more passive one. The problem solutions that inactive citizens did cite were significantly less varied than those of active residents and service providers who were often able to use some combinations of formal, informal, and personal resources. Hence, the role of inactive citizens seems to provide for the residents in this sample the least positive experience of community, both culture and processes of the three groups studied.

In summary, the results of this study indicate that both factors of race of community and community role are related to community member's experience at both community culture and community processes.

Discussion

To review, several findings deserve highlighting. First, the most striking differences between members of the black and white community were not in perceived sense of satisfaction with and support from their communities, but in black community members' acknowledgement of service-related community deficits, and in their utilization of informal community processes. One can speculate that in view of the absence perceived of formal services, members of the black community developed a greater reliance on informal community resource networks and support systems. Second, there were significant role-related differences unique to each role-group specified. The data indicate that experience of community--its culture and processes--is qualitatively different depending on the role assumed by the individual. Service providers experienced satisfaction working within these communities, but also perceived a range of community problems as being more severe than did the residents themselves. In response to such problems, service providers tended to rely primarily upon the available formal resources. Active citizens showed an ability to maintain linkages to a variety of formal resource networks and informal support systems, and were able to respond to problem situations with a greater number and variety of solutions. One could speculate that such involvement in community was directly related to active citizens' sense of more strengths, satisfaction and support than inactive citizens. Inactive citizens showed a more passive problem-solving style, a diminished ability to utilize available resource networks, and of all groups experienced least satisfaction and support in their community. These costs found as inherent in the inactive citizen role seemed particularly debilitating in the black community. One could speculate that the costs of an inactive role are related,especially to estrangement from informal networks. Since these networks have served to minimize the absence of formal resources in the black community, such estrangement would be even more costly.

What implications can be drawn from this? The authors feel that the data (in spite of their limitations) point out several concerns and directions that need to be pursued.

First, the data support the notion that there may be no simple, unidimensional formula for assessing a community and members' experience of community. It becomes apparent that such assessments must be done on a number of dimensions, both evaluative (how satisfied, etc.) and process (how problems are solved, etc.). For instance, the differential use of formal and informal resources by the two communities studied here suggests that varied patterns of strengths and deficits may emerge. Recent research in individual functioning and change suggest that a more complex and varied view of individual assessment is required. This study suggests that effective community assessment will involve studying patterns or profiles that are no less complex and varied.

Second, given the implications of this complexity, this research effort has proven to us the value of specifying an analytic model or framework that will outline important parameters a priori and allows for meaningful integration of complex data for analysis. The authors found the model proposed here useful for delineating particular variables to be measured in the assessment process. It is clear that more comparative assessment research and theoretical refinement is needed to flush out the strengths and weaknesses in this framework for comparative community analysis.

Third, related to community role, the results show that one can identify role-related subgroups which show differential perceptions, coping skills, and beliefs. This finding has several implications for those interested in community functioning and change. For example, needs assessment studies must be interpreted in terms of the context in which they are collected and of the subgroups represented. Subsequently, community interventions can be designed to differentially maximize the strengths of particular subgroups. Given their flexibility in using resources, active citizens reflect a style which may be important in maintaining informal community support systems. While the literature on para-professionals has long supported the importance of the indigenous community resident being active in service efforts, this study presents data that begin to outline the specific characteristics or styles of active residents which may contribute to their effectiveness. Although under-utilizing indigenous, informal, community resources, service providers do have important knowledge of the operation of formal resources which can be shared profitably with both active and inactive residents. On the other hand, service providers' assessment of community needs as more serious than the assessments of residents poses some intriguing questions. On the basis of whose perception of need--providers or potential consumers --should community resources be allocated? The data here would suggest a danger in over-investing funds in some need areas on provider evidence that would not be supported by citizen assessments. Are service providers more perceptive of the service short-comings? Or, is there some evidence here of the potential danger of creating services on the basis of service provider assessments that benefit the survival of the service systems more than the qualitative experience of community of the residents? The questions are provocative and deserve further empirical investigation. What seems clear is that human service interventions be examined in terms of how they enhance or detract from the operation of already existent informal and formal helping networks in the community.

A final instructive notion was gained from examining the mean scores of the inactive citizens of the two communities. Although there were no significant interaction effects, inactive citizens in the black community experienced the least amount of satisfaction of any group. A tentative interpretation is that the passive and uninvolved style of inactive citizens may have been particularly ill-suited to the black community, where membership in informal resource networks seemed more crucial for satisfying needs. This interpretation suggests that an additional task for the researcher and change agent is to determine the adaptiveness of particular individual styles across different community settings. The apparently high costs of the inactive role across communities that were documented here may serve as valuable guidance for community efforts to encourage greater citizen participation in planning and problem-solving efforts. The data here indicate very real rewards in terms of a more positive experience of one's own community may result from such an investment of energy.

In summary, this study has provided support for the hypotheses that experience of community and involvement with its processes varies as a function of the racial composition of the community and the role of its members. In addition, it has been argued that a more sophisticated understanding of such patterns is needed both to plan effective community interventions, and to assess their impact. The community analysis model described here provides an initial framework for examining and understanding important community processes. Additional research involving a greater number of communities and additional testing and refinement of the general analytic strategy presented here is required and suggested.

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Separation and its Effects on Female Prisoners and their Children

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Abstract

Black female prisoners' perceptions of their separation from their children were examined. A 100-item questionnaire, using a Transactional Analytical approach, and eight cards from the Separation-Attachment Test (SAAT) were administered to female prisoners. Prisoners were residents of a federal and a state penal institution. Descriptive data revealed that imprisoned mothers perceived themselves as loving, warm, nurturant, and dependent. Communication between mothers, children, and guardians was viewed as being present but garbled. Feelings of despair and depression pervaded most stories to the SAAT. New approaches to female correctional programming were discussed.

Recently, the plight of imprisoned women has focused attention on issues surrounding imprisoned mothers and their children. It has been estimated that 55 to 80 percent of the 15,000 incarcerated women in federal, state, and local facilities are mothers (Glick and Neto, 1976; McGowan and Blumenthal, 1976).

The problems encountered by imprisoned mothers and their children have been documented by several state surveys and a national survey (Dubose, 1975; Henriques, 1977; McGowan & Blumenthal, 1976; Stanton, 1977; Zalba, 1964). McGowan and Blumenthal (1976) surveyed a national sample of child welfare and criminal justice professionals. Administrators and women imprisoned in correctional facilities in the New York City area were also interviewed.

The results of this national survey indicated that the criminal justice system rarely provided for the care of children of incarcerated mothers. Generally, most children were cared for by relatives, however, approximately 12% of the children were placed in foster care. Mothers expressed greatest concern if their children were in foster care and least concern if their children were cared for by the grandparents. The mothers felt uncertain, anguished, and threatened because the children had other caretakers who might turn their children against them.

Restricted visiting conditions were also a concern of incarcerated mothers. In some institutions, children under 16 were prohibited from visiting. Visits were usually brief and sometimes without personal contact. Nevertheless, at least 80% of the mothers reported having on-going contact with children and caregivers. The majority of mothers planned to re-establish a home for their children upon release.

Similar findings were reported by Stanton (1977) with regards to incarcerated mothers, their children and their children's caretakers. Mothers on probation and their children were also interviewed. Similar concerns were expressed about the care of children while mothers were incarcerated. Visiting privileges and arrangements were also of concern. In addition, Stanton found that incarcerated mothers were actually less informed than probation mothers when asked factual questions about their children (e.g., name of child's school, teacher and friends). Moreover, he concluded that since most incarcerated mothers were often single parents, the period of incarceration brought about a serious disruption in the mother-child relationship which could have lasting effects.

The feelings of imprisoned mothers regarding the separation from their children were identified in a study by Lundberg, Sheekley and Voekler (1975). The psychological impact of the separation was found closely to resemble other forms of loss such as those experienced through death, divorce, and separation from children. The grief response of the women was characterized by emptiness, helplessness, anger, guilt, fears of loss of attachment and rejection. The difficulty of the mother discussing with the child the reasons for their separation was indicative of the degree to which imprisonment affected communication. Mothers did not foresee difficulty in reunions, which may have been unrealistic considering the intensity of their expressed emotions. The importance of a mother processing her grief can be a factor in a healthy emotional reunion with a child (Lundberg, et al., 1975).

Lundberg, et al., (1975) found that maintenance of the mother-child relationship during imprisonment was a mediator in reducing the effects of separation. It was shown that frequent visiting was related to satisfaction in communication and that absence of visits created a more severe emotional response especially among mothers of school age children. Prison support systems were found lacking in facilitating maintenance of mother-child relationships. There was no specific forum for the expression of grief and feelings related to separation. Also noted were problems inherent in institutional visiting as well as system barriers for obtaining visits and passes to the community. Furthermore, institutional practices induced forced dependency which is antithetical to characteristics of the maternal role.

Banfanti, et al., (1974) and Vincent (1974), conducted a descriptive study of the maternal role of incarcerated mothers at the Louisiana Correctional Institute for Women. Seventy-one mothers were administered a research instrument exploring demographic, situational, behavioral, and perceptual variables concerning maternal role behavior (MRB) and maternal role perception (MRP). They found that current legal custody of the children, prior living arrangements of the children, post-release care plans of inmate mothers for children, and the number of children were predictive of MRP. It was concluded that all mothers retained some degree of MRB.

While these studies showed that many correction departments impacts negatively upon the family members when a parent is imprisoned, they do not present a detailed picture of the dynamics operative in the mother's perception of her separation from her child.

The present research concerns itself with the employment of a Transactional Analytical approach to assessing the extent to which black female prisoners view their separation from their children. Descriptive data will be presented of (a) prisoner's view of herself, (b) how she perceives the child's view of her (c) how she perceives the guardian's view of her, (d) how she perceives the child's and guardian's view of each other. Projective data will be collected. In addition, as related to the problem, new approaches to female correctional programming will be discussed.

Method

Sample

The subjects were black, female volunteers imprisoned at two penal institutions in the District of Columbia. All of these women were mothers. The majority of the women having two children and ranging in age from 20-35.

Instruments

A 100 item questionnaire (employing a 1-5 Likert Scale) was devised by Savage, Adair, and Roberts (1973). It is based on the theory of Transactional Analysis (Berne, 1961). The questionnaire was used to assess the incarcerated mother's perceptions of herself, her child, and the child's guardian. It mainly focused on the perceived communication among the three.

The Separation-Attachment Apperception Test (SAAT) (Savage, Adair and Roberts, 1973) consisted of a set of twenty cards developed to examine underlying psychological dynamics involving the separation of mother and child.

Procedure

The questionnaire was administered in a five person group setting. Prisoners were asked to rate each question on a scale from 1 to 5. IBM answer sheets were provided. The investigator monitoring the questionnaire administration provided assistance to those who had any problems following directions, reading the questionnaire, or marking the answer sheets.

Eight of the SAAT cards were administered individually in random order and the responses were taped. Prisoners were asked to tell a story about each picture, elaborating on what happened prior to the event in the picture, what was happening now, and what would happen in the future. All responses on the SAAT were transcribed and scored on the following dimensions:

Depression	-	Feelings of sadness and hopelessness
Elation	-	Feelings of joy and sadness
Uncertainty	-	Feelings of doubt and mistrust
Internal Control	-	The degree to which the character in the picture felt responsible for his/her own feelings and behavior
External Control	-	The extent to which the character does not take responsibility for his/her own feelings and actions
Separation	-	The departure of one character from another character in the story
Attachment	-	The reunion of characters or displays of contact
Economic State	-	References to financial conditions
Reflectivity	-	Thinking, reminiscing of past, present, future life states
Impulsivity	-	Acting or behaving without thought
Aggression	-	The display of hostile, injurious or destructive behavior
Fear of Self-Disclosure	-	Refusal to define problems of the characters which may reveal true life situations
Criminality	-	Any references to imprisonment, illegal acts and behavior
Religion	-	Any references to religious institutions, gods, or deities

Data Analysis

The 100-item questionnaire was analyzed by using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov One Sample Test (Siegel, 1956). This statistic tests the observed score distribution from one that is theoretically derived.

A frequency count was made for each SAAT card on each dimension. Percentages were calculated across the temporal factors for each card on each dimension and also within each temporal factor on each card on each dimension.

Results

The results of the 100-item questionnaire are based on the Transactional Analytical model (Berne, 1961). The major concepts in Transactional Analysis are ego states, time structuring, stroking, and communication.

Self-Concept of Ego-States

The allocation of time spent in the three Ego States--Parent, Adult, or Child--were assessed. Most women reported significantly low levels of energy in behaving toward others in a critical manner ($p < .05$). Furthermore, women in both institutions reported significantly low levels of energy expended in manifesting acrimonious behavior. Acrimonious behaviors included punishing ($p < .01$), looking down on others ($p < .01$), hating ($p < .05$), and being destructive ($p < .01$).

As expected, a majority of the women reported behaviors such as being helpful (76.5%), lvoing and warm (85.3%), protective (55.9%) and supportive (58.8%). This finding seems to be in keeping with the goal of the institution to produce docile, mannerly, and obedient inmates.

As would be statistically expected, the inmates showed no extremes in their perceptions of their conative ability or deterioration of their affective capacities. That is, women felt they were able to reason (97.0%), make decisions (87.8%), make decisions based on facts (76.4%) and were in touch with what was going on (88.2%).

Time Structuring

The Transactional Analytical theory, six ways are delineated for structuring time:

1. Withdrawal
2. Ritualizing
3. Activity
4. Pastiming
5. Games
6. Intimacy

Inmates reacted as was statistically expected, to the question concerning running games on people. The majority of women reported that they spent hardly any time watching the clock in this manner ($p < .01$). Possibly, this is correlated with the high degree of nurturance expressed by these women. On the other hand, it could be a game played with the investigators in terms of giving socially accepted responses. For example, women indicated that they frequently expressed simple greetings (79.3%), got things done (82.2%), and were intimate (79.4%).

Stroking

Theoretically, there are two types of strokes that human beings can display--namely recognition and touching. Recognition is a stroke that is purely verbal in nature. However, touching involves actual physical contact. Both types of strokes let us know that we are alive by the fact that others have communicated this to us in some way.

The quality of stroking can take three forms: (a) positive (warm fuzzies); (b) negative (cold-pricklies); (c) a combination of negative and positive (plastic fuzzies). The quality of stroking was important in this study.

The results indicated that the distribution of women responding to giving, taking, asking for, and refusing to give positive strokes was insignificant. However, there was significant deviation in the distributions of persons responding to questions regarding negative strokes. Most women said they could not give ($p < .10$), take ($p < .01$), or ask ($p < .01$) for cold prickles. Similar findings were found for taking ($p < .01$) and asking ($p < .01$) for plastic fuzzies. Considering the nature of isolation experienced by these women who are cut off from their traditional reinforcement network, the reliance upon one another for positive recognition and touching appears to be paramount.

Intra-Familial Communication

In general, most women rated communication between themselves and their children as good (80.4%), and direct (86.0%) with a reciprocal flow (62.8%). However, some women reported a significant amount of static attached to communication ($p < .01$).

Triadic Communication

The data showed that 96% of the women who responded to the questionnaire reported that their children have guardians. Most of them reported that they experienced difficulty in communicating with their children's surrogate parent ($p < .10$).

The extent to which the cross-communication between the child's parent and guardian occurred would seem to indicate that this phenomenon may impact negatively. However, the data collected does not directly address itself to this issue, but does leave room for future research.

Life Positions

The data indicated a dichotomy with regards to personal life positions. The women seemed not to be sure whether they were O.K. or not but were certain that others were ($p < .10$). However, some inmates expresed significant feelings of ambivalence about whether they were O.K. ($p < .01$) and whether others were O.K. ($p < .01$). Interestingly, women showed a significant feeling that neither the children's guardians nor the children were O.K. ($p < .05$). The ambivalent feelings expressed by the women extended to themselves, their children, their children's guardians, and others in general.

Card 1

Responses most often elicited by Card 1 (see Figure 1) were Criminality (27.8%), Depression (18.8%), and Reflectivity (13.9%). These responses were more likely to occur within the present temporal orientation than the future or past. None of the stories produced reflections into the future. However, Criminality (12.5%) and Depression (14.8%) were expressed as future conditions. The women seemed to project only criminal behavior and sadness for the future, a future which was apparently difficult to think about.

Card 2

Aggression (48.6%) and Depression (12.1%) were elicited most often by Card 2 (see Figure 2). Both Aggression (61.5%) and Depression (46.2%) were also more likely to be seen as present states. Most women viewed aggression as having occurred in the past (25.0%) with the outcome being sadness and depression (38.5%). Stories often reflected loss of friendships as a result of gossip and mistrust.

Card 3

The women were more likely to respond to this card with themes of Depression (22.2%) and Reflectivity (20.2%). Depression responses were more often cited as future (40.9%) conditions rather than present (36.4%) or past (22.7%) conditions. The Reflectivity themes were either in the present (85%) or future (15%). There were no reflections into the past, a time which elicited feelings of depression. Again, as with Cards 1 and 2, the future appeared bleak and full of sadness.

Card 4

Themes of Separation (30.5%), Attachment (22.1%) and Depression (18.3%) were revealed by responses to Card 4. Separation themes were most likely to occur in the past (30.0%) and present (27.5%) whereas Attachment themes occurred in the present (72.4%) and future (24.1%). Depression on the other hand, occurred in the present (62.5%) and past (25%). Stories focused on being separated from children and trying to comfort, console, and reassure the child of togetherness for the future. Attachment responses revealed themes of warmth and nurturance directed by the mother to the child.

Card 5

Card 5 revealed themes of Depression (28.6%) and Reflectivity (19.0%) similar to those in Card 3. Both Depression and Reflectivity were considered conditions of the present and future. Another dimension elicited by Card 5 was Fear of Self-Disclosure (13.3%). Fear of Self-Disclosure was more likely to occur in the past (64.3%) than either the present (21.4%) or future (14.3%). The women seemed reluctant to identify the problems which were responsible for the depression and the deep thought.

Card 6

Separation (33.1%), Depression (19.0%) and Aggression (10.4%) were most often reported to this card. Separation (74.1%) and Depression (67.7%) responses occurred primarily in the present temporal orientation. However, Aggression responses were elicited most often in the past (70.6%). Quite often stories indicated that some type of argument or disagreement had transpired which resulted in the departure of the male figure. The departure was accompanied with feelings of loneliness and despair. The return of the male figure was seen as unlikely and the future full of hardships.

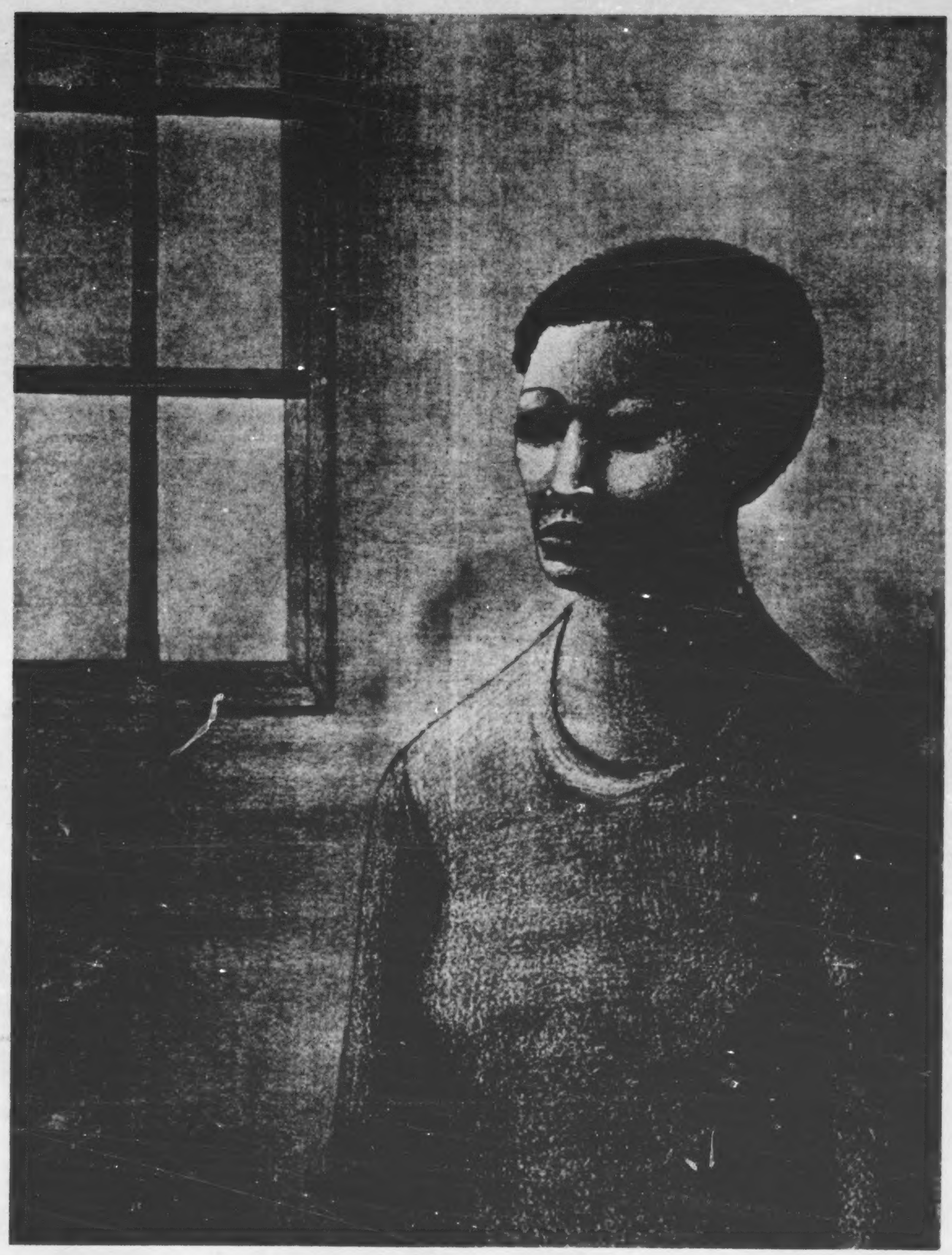

Figure 1. Card 1 of the Separation-Attachment Apperception Test.

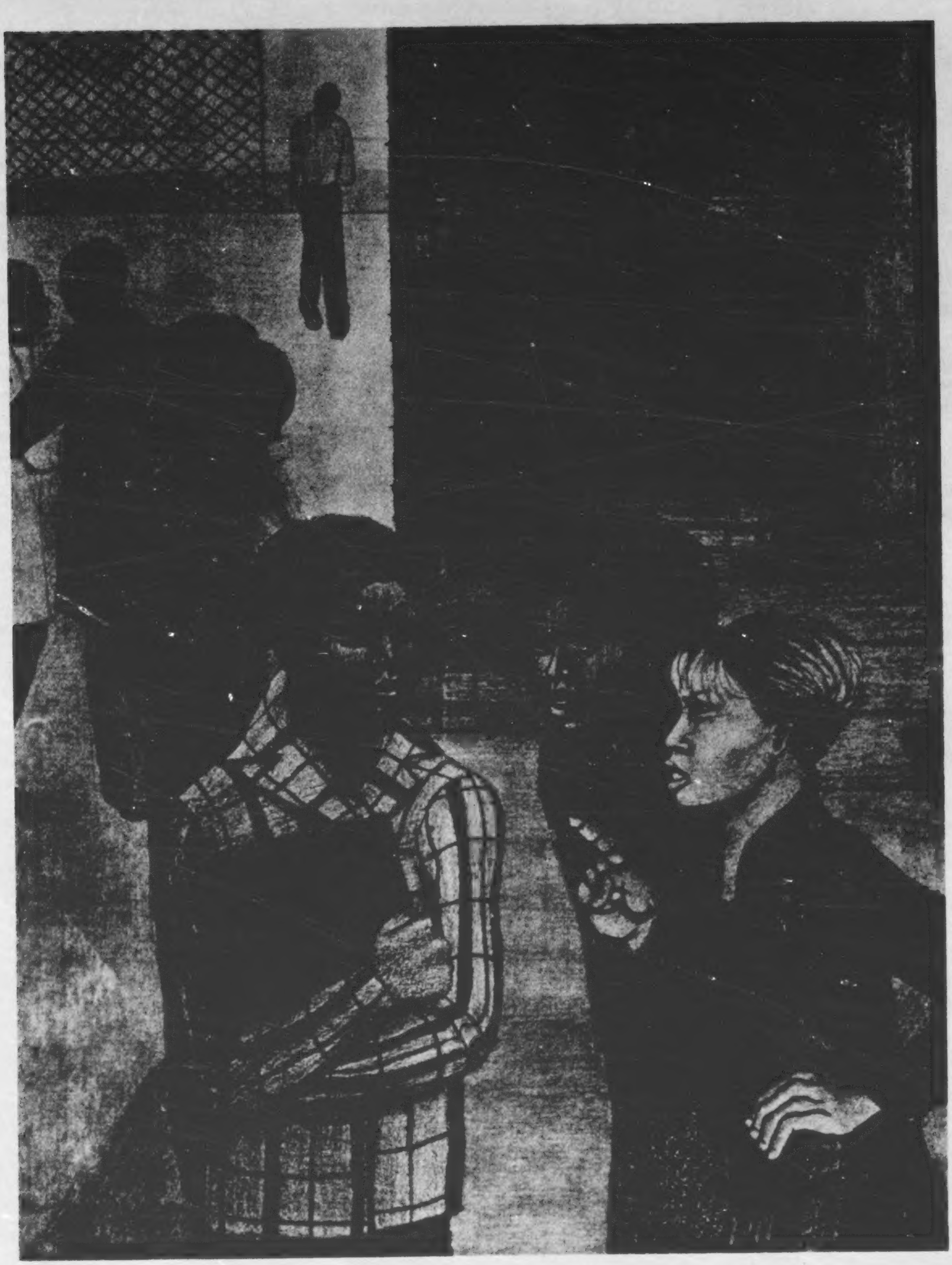

Figure 2. Card 2 of the Separation-Attachment Apperception Test.

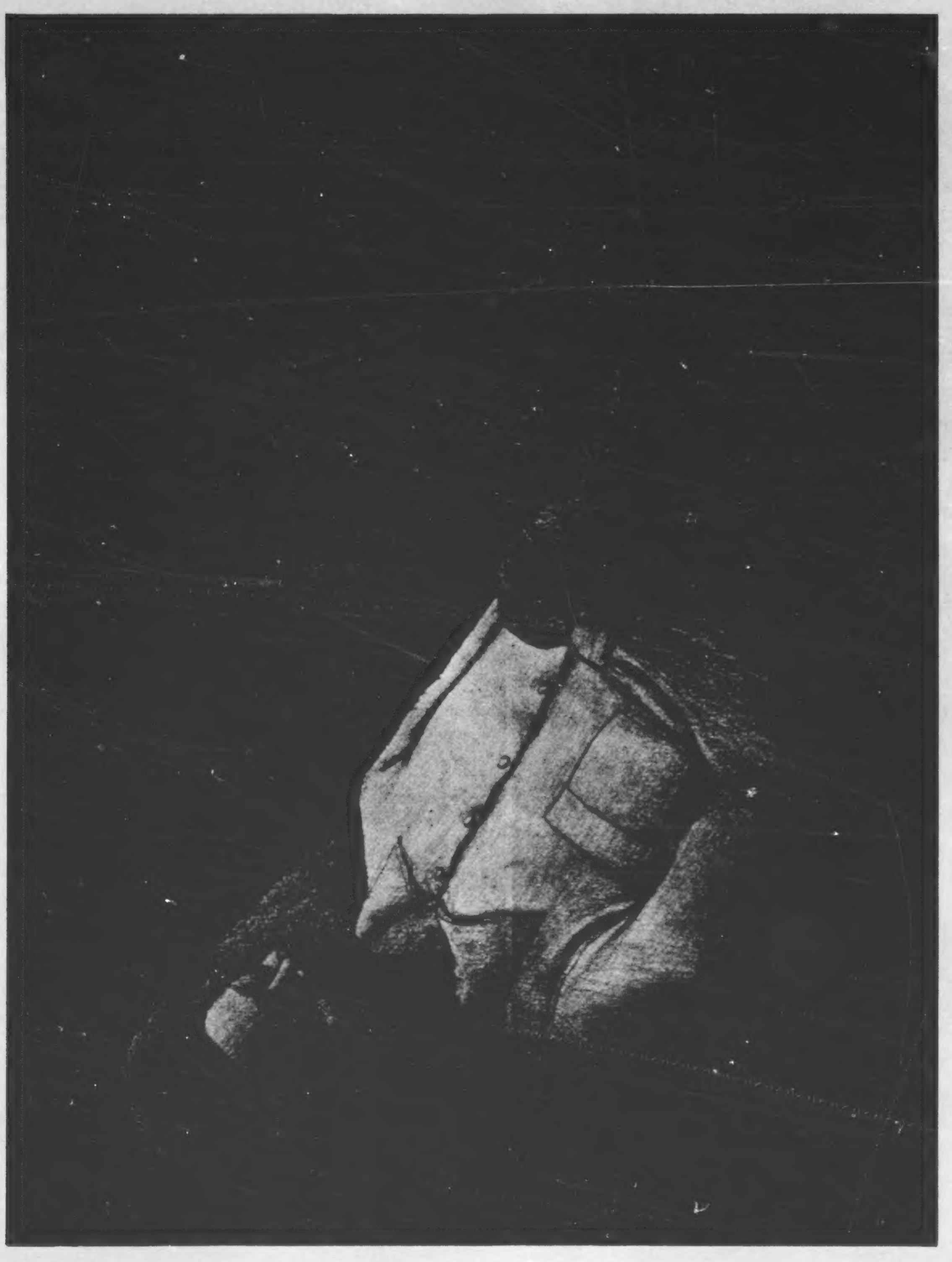

Figure 3. Card 3 of the Separation-Attachment Apperception Test.

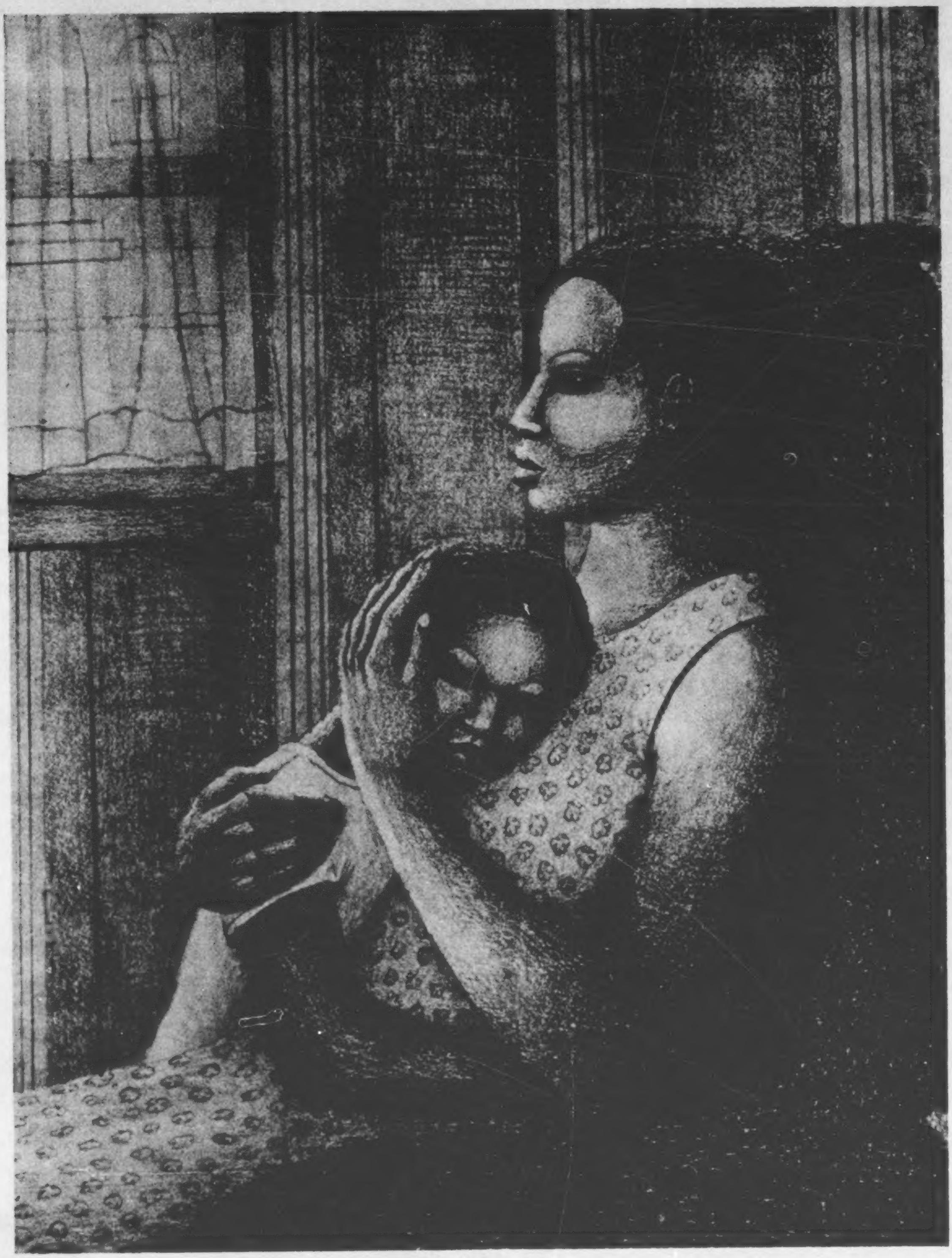

Figure 4. Card 4 of the Separation-Attachment Apperception Test.

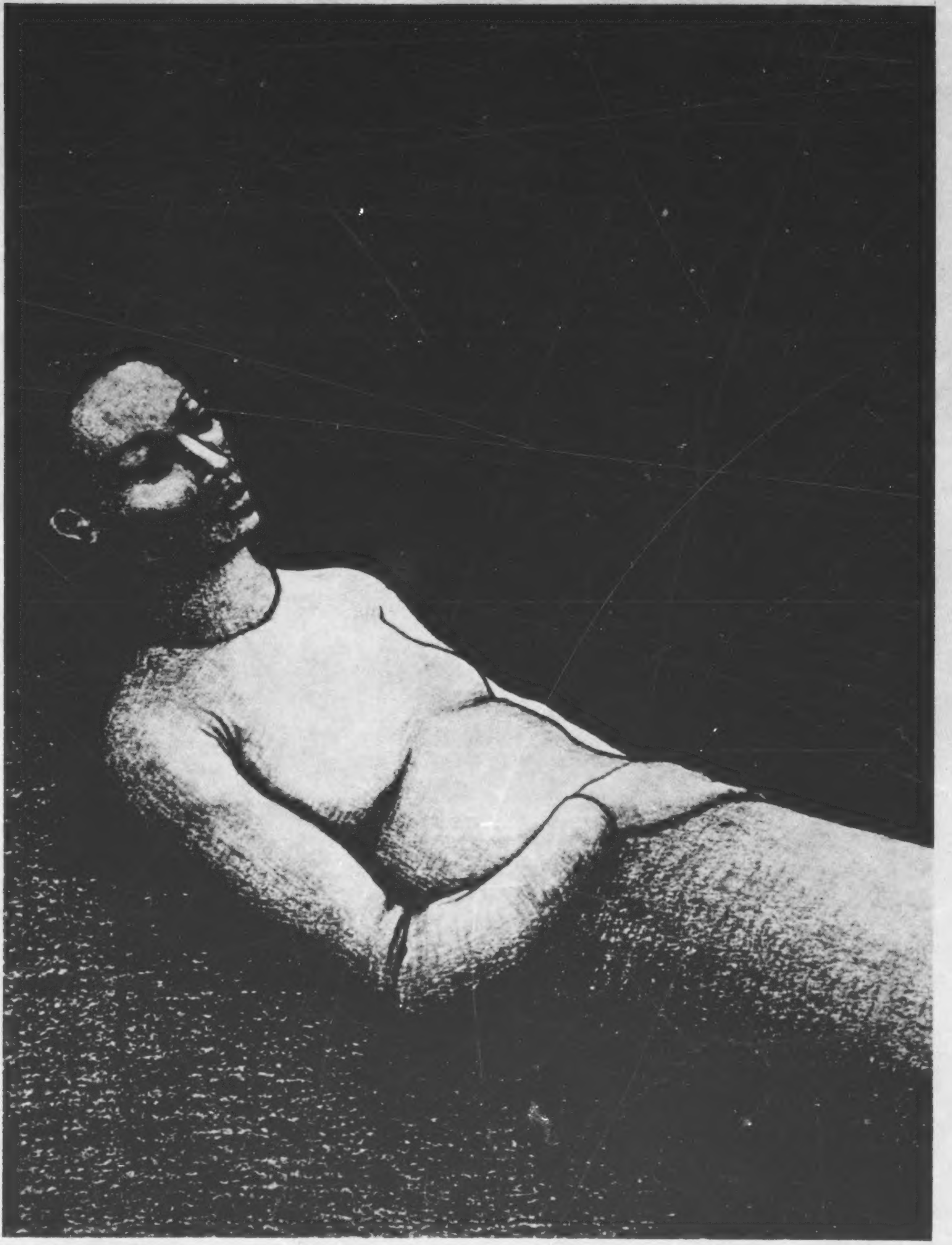

Figure 5. Card 5 of the Separation-Attachment Apperception Test.

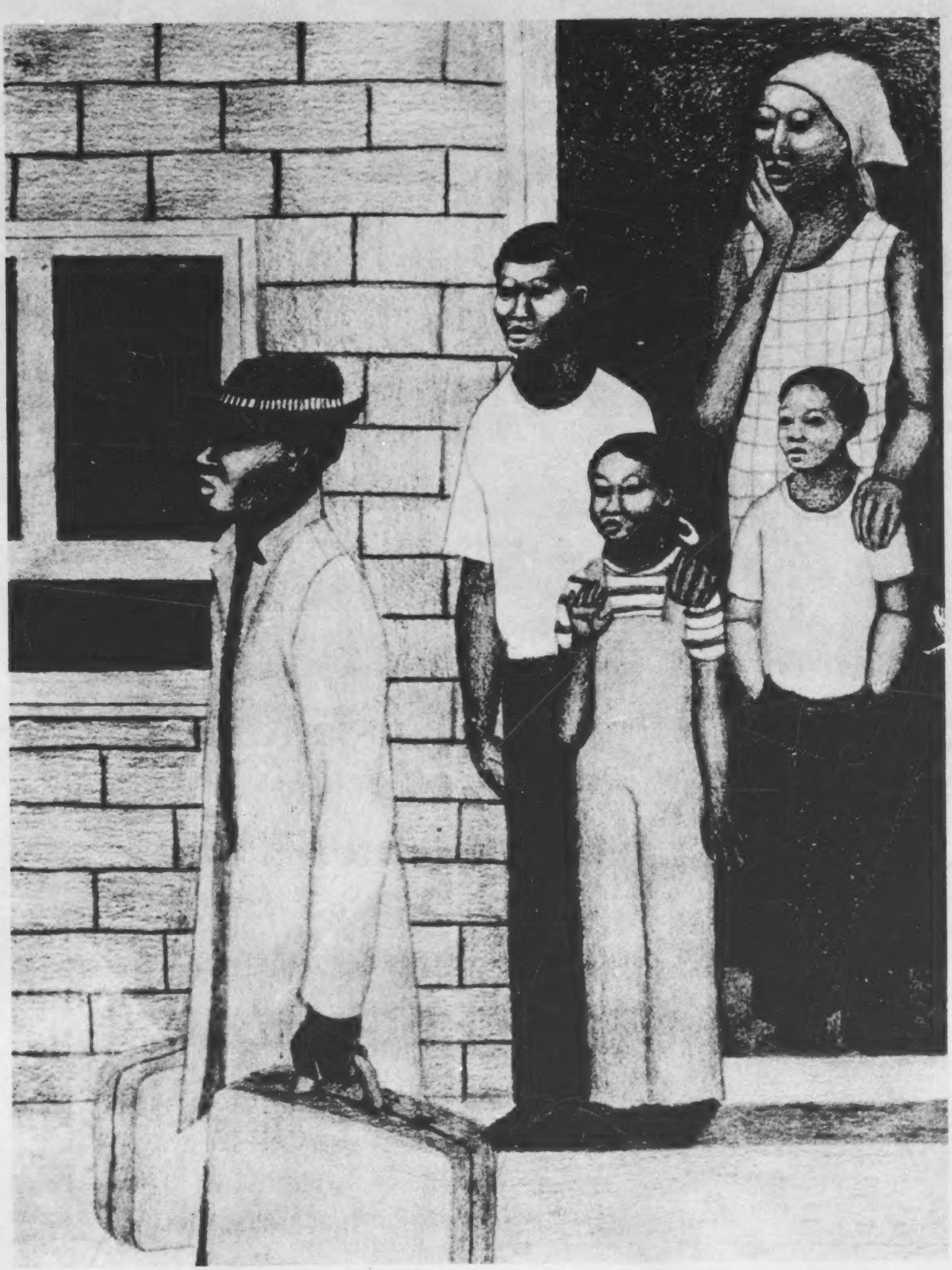

Figure 6. Card 6 of the Separation-Attachment Apperception Test.

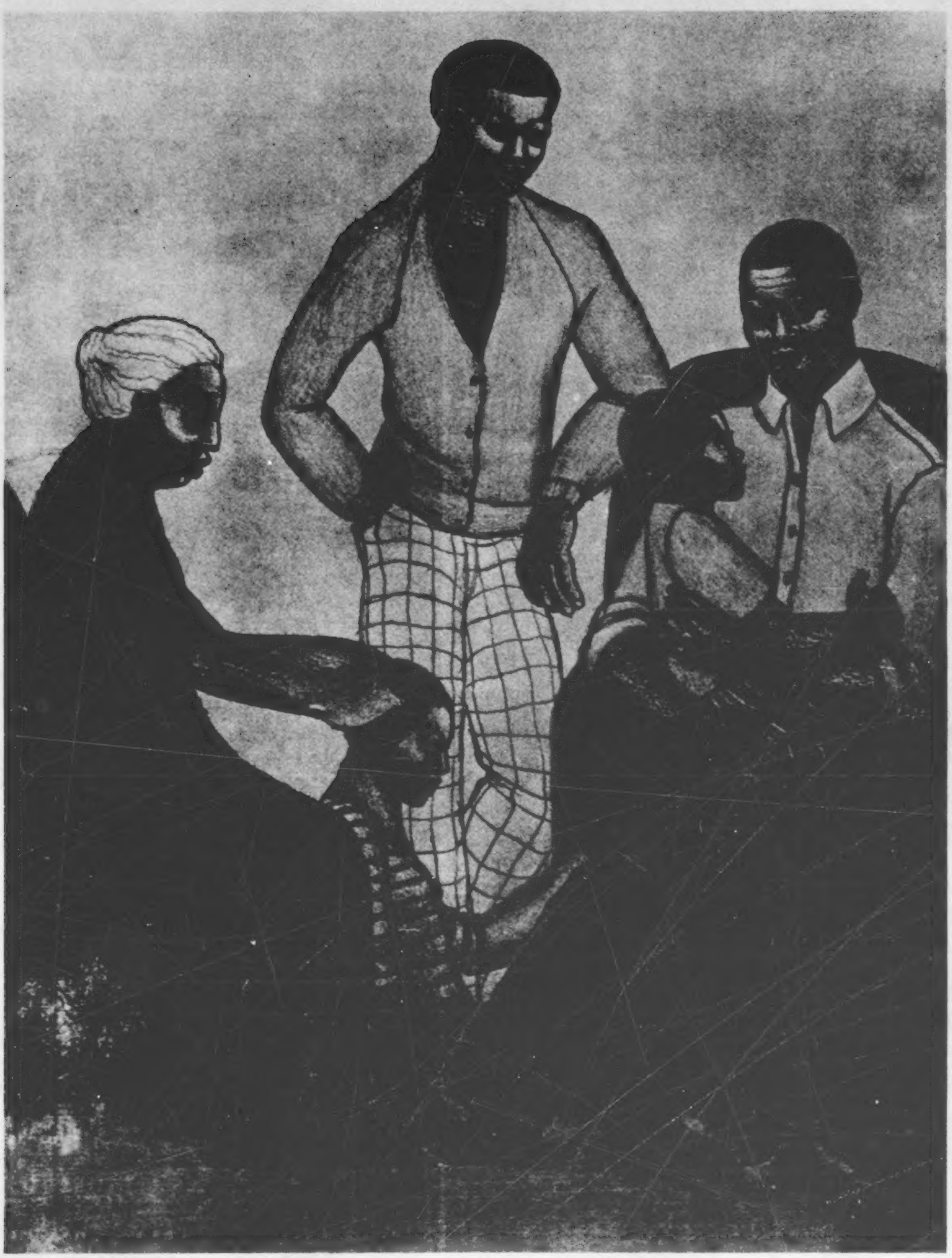

Figure 7. Card 7 of the Separation-Attachment Apperception Test.

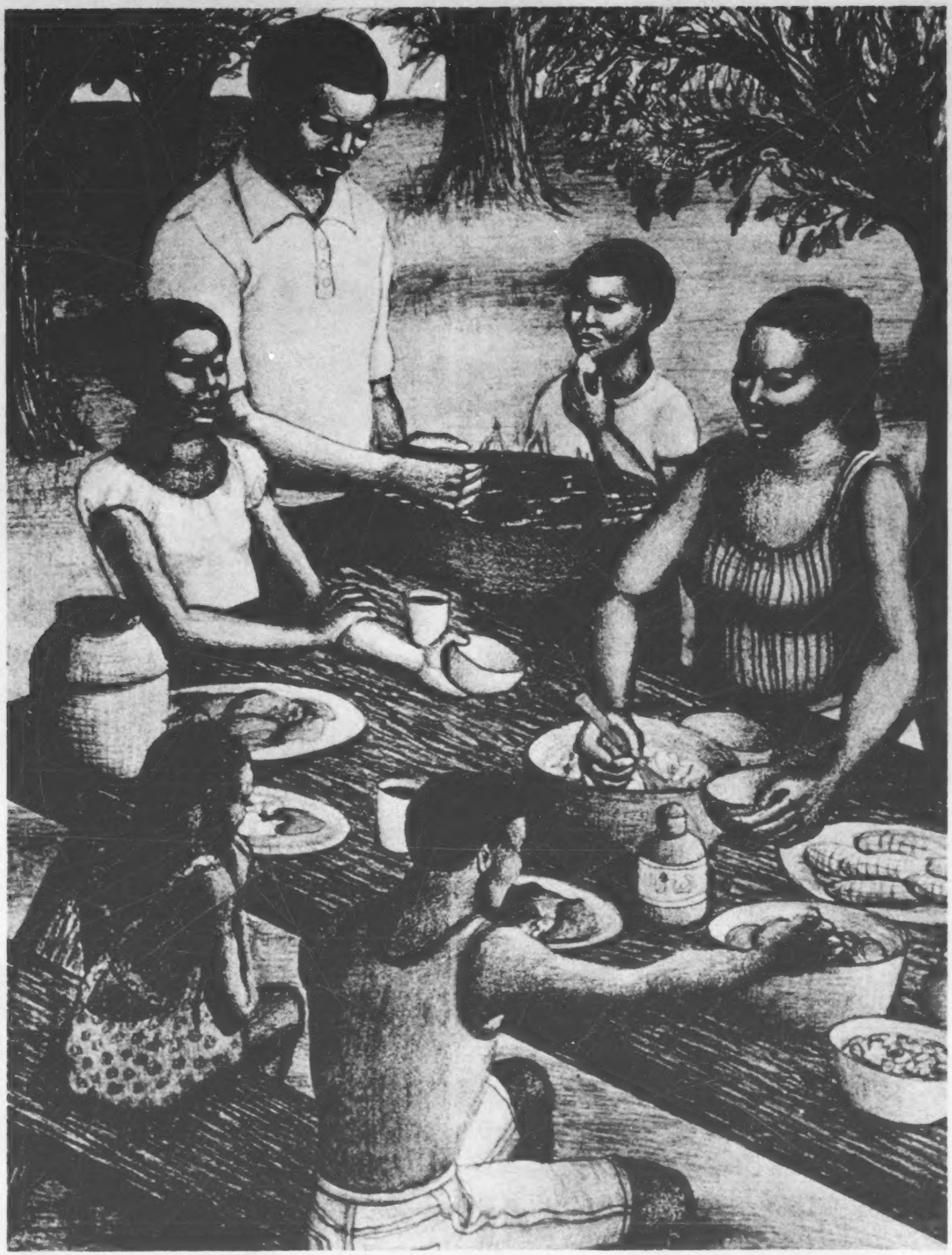

Figure 8. Card 7 of the Separation-Attachment Apperception Test.

Card 7

Expressions of Attachment (29.2%), Separation (22.1%) and Elation (14.2%) were evoked by this card. Feelings of Attachment and Elation were expressed in the present (63.6%), 43.7%) and future (33%, 50%) more often than the past (6.1%, 6.3%). On the other hand, Separation responses occurred in the past (44.0%) more often than the present (28.0%) or future (25%).

The familial scene seemed to generate feelings of nurturance, warmth, and love. Although the mother was perceived as being separated from the family, the cohesiveness of the family was projected for the future.

Card 8

Card 8 revealed a pattern similar to Card 7 with Attachment (38.5%) and Elation (37.5%) being expressed most often.

Both cards depicted family gatherings which elicited feelings of cohesiveness and happiness. This is one of two cards which stimulated feelings of elation (41.7%) and attachment (27.5%) in the future. Stories focused on happy family gatherings with projections of similar reunions in the future.

CONCLUSIONS

It can be deduced from the findings that the children of black female prisoners are experiencing some of the hardest times. Mothers generally viewed themselves and the guardians of their children either with feelings of ambivalence or outright disdain. Moreover, feelings of depression and pensiveness pervaded the SAAT stories which suggest female prisoners are also experiencing hard times. The incarcerated mothers projected separation of families and a future dominated by criminality and hopelessness.

Nevertheless, the test materials showed that some women maintained strong feelings of warmth and nurturance toward their children and families. Moreover, mothers reported that communication, as important for mother and child, did exist although it was garbled.

It is, therefore, incumbent upon those of us who espouse the philosophy or practice in advocation of black children, to begin to immediately change the arbitrary and invidious separation of black female prisoners from their children. Ways of implementing positive changes within the legal institution include:

1. Establishing vocational courses with up-dated equipment in order to help mothers obtain jobs in the community.
2. Encouraging families to visit institutions as often as possible and giving furloughs to the residents to strengthen family relationships.
3. Creating more children of offenders projects with objectives that (a) determine the effects of a mother's delinquency and incarceration on the child's development and (b) find improved ways of interrupting the cycle of neglect and delinquency.
4. Providing direct services to the women which include locating children whose mothers have lost track of them while in prison, arranging for suitable foster homes and educational opportunities, intervening in cases of child neglect and abuse, helping to place the children in camps or other structured summer activities, and helping mothers to obtain furloughs in order to cope with specific problems of their youngsters.

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ED185146

A Cross-Cultural View of Personality Differences Among Blacks

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Abstract

Personality differences among black populations of varying socioeconomic backgrounds from Jamaica and the U.S. were investigated using Rotter's Internal-External Locus of Control measure, the Gough-Heilbrun Adjective Check List and Kelly's Role Construct Repertory Test. Results demonstrate the differential utility of these personality measures for cultural comparisons, and in particular suggest that the I-E Scale lacks equivalence of meaning cross-culturally as well as for differing sample populations within the U.S. Differences in personality traits and social constructs were generally consistent with those that might be predicted between members of a more traditional society and those of a modern nation. The view that studies of racial minorities within a nationality are appropriately conducted in a cross-cultural framework is presented.

Although cross-cultural psychological research has recently emerged as one of the fastest growing areas in psychology, there have been virtually no studies in which comparisons of blacks in different cultures have been the primary focus of interest. Indeed, most cross-cultural studies contrast samples from different cultures and nationalities with only passing regard for the racial or ethnic characteristics of their populations. It would seem to be of interest to explore the personologic implications of differing culture for peoples from similar racial heritage, as does the present study of personality characteristics of African descendants in the New World. Moreover, this study includes an additional comparative dimension by investigating samples of varying socioeconomic status as well as nationality, thus allowing an assessment of the differential impact of these two variables on personality.

Another issue which this study begins to explore is the appropriateness of the cross-cultural research model for studies of racial minorities within a given nationality, for example, blacks in America. Comparative studies of blacks frequently find them deficient in some regard, and they are characteristically described in unflattering terms (Baratz and Baratz, 1970; Katz, 1974). Such findings have increasingly been challenged, and serious question has been raised concerning the methodological adequacy of comparative racial research in America (Clark, 1973; Gynther, 1972; Jones, 1978). Most of the controversy has revolved around the theme of cultural bias in measurement instruments, and conceptual problems in the interpretation of research data. Not surprisingly, these problems closely parallel those confronted by cross-cultural researchers (Dawson, 1971). The difficulties in comparative racial research might, it seems, be better managed if a cross-cultural research paradigm were systematically applied. In comparing groups of American blacks with West Indian blacks, this study begins to explore the extent to which principles of cross-cultural research can be extrapolated to comparative racial research within a nationality.

The development of valid and appropriate cross-cultural measures for personality research beyond the realms of visual perception and cognitive style has been undertaken only relatively recently (Dawson, 1971). Berry (1969) proposes a promising strategy for cross-cultural comparisons in other areas. He points out that a researcher necessarily begins study of an unfamiliar culture by employing categories of experience and instruments derived from those categories which are external to the local setting. A common error in cross-cultural investigations is that such categories are

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presumed to be universal, or etic. However, most often these are indigenous, or emic, to the researcher's own culture. Forcing aspects of the studied culture into this framework often leads to a comparison of incomparables, i.e., a lack of equivalence of meaning. If the entry instrument can be modified to reflect the categories of experience relevant to the local culture and still retain some semblance of their original character, categories common to both cultures may be pooled to create a transcultural framework from which valid cross-cultural comparisons can be made. Berry terms this synthesis a derived etic; it describes a set of categories with equivalent meaning in at least two cultures.

Another purpose of this study is, then, to explore the utility of a range of personality assessment techniques for cross-cultural research in terms of the emic - etic distinction. In the present study, various cimensions of personality are tapped by measures of traits (self-characterizations)concept of self-in-the-world, and social constructs, aspects of personality that can be presumed to be influenced by culture to varying degrees. In addition, the instruments employed here range from highly structured, forced-choice response formats to more flexible, check-list type indices and idiographic, clinically oriented measures, allowing comparison of the cross-cultural utility of various forms of measurement.

Internal-External Locus of Control

Derived from social learning theory, Rotter's (1966) Internal-External Locus of control Scale (I-E) measures the extent to which people believe they exercise control over their own lives and destinies. Individuals who believe their actions can affect the course of their lives are said to have an expectancy of internal control, while those who believe their lives to be determined by fate, chance or powerful others have an expectancy of external control. The I-E measure, a 23-item forced choice scale, has become an unusually popular and extensively employed research instrument (Phares, 1973), possibly because the concept of locus of control intersects social, clinical and political realms with its direct relevance to such experiences as social alientation, feelings of powerlessness, lack of personal control, and desire for self-determination.

More recently, the I-E Scale has been used in cross-cultural investigations. Studies have found important differences among samples from a variety of nations and cultures, generally demonstrating a higher degree of internality among men than among women (McGinnies, et al., 1974) and among people from industrialized nations than those from developing nations (Nagelschmidt and Jakob, 1977). Samples from Eastern nations usually display greater externality than those from Western nations (Hsieh, Shybut and Lotsoff, 1969; Reitz and Groff, 1974; Lao, Chung and Yang, 1977) though this finding is not entirely consistent across investigations; it is rendered even more ambiguous by the fact that when samples from Asian countries are compared to one another they show greater variance in I-E scores than those obtained in European countries (Parson and Schneider, 1974). In their attempts to understand such inconsistent patterns of findings in their study of internal-external locus of control in five nations, McGinnies, et al., note that they may result from a lack of equivalence of meaning of the I-E Scale cross-culturally. The use of the construct of locus of control cross-culturally may constitute an imposed etic (Berry, 1969), i.e., a culture specific notion erroneously presumed to be universal in nature. Nagelschmidt and Jakob (1977) point out that if, as Rotter (1966) has contended, the I-E Scale is unidimensional, then a method of ascertaining its equivalence of meaning cross-culturally is to verify its unidimensionality in other cultures, thereby determining whether or not attitudinal structures are similar. In their factor analytic study of Brazilian women's responses to the I-E, the only such cross-cultural study of the measure to date, two factors, termed 'externality' and 'fatalism,' emerged, thereby raising questions about the I-E Scale's equivalence of meaning cross-culturally.

There is some evidence that even within nationality the I-E Scale acts as an imposed etic. Although several studies have found that U.S. blacks, especially in young, non-college educated, lower class samples, tend to score more externally than whites (Battle and Rotter,1963; Lefcourt, 1965; Lefcourt and Ladwig, 1965; 1966) the meaning of these differences was called into question by Gurin, Gurin, Lao and Beattie (1969) in their study of Southern black college students. Contrary to what might be predicted on the basis of Rotter's theory, Gurin, et al., found that blacks who were willing to participate in social protest action scored lowest in internal control. Moreover, a factor analysis of I-E Scale item responses loaded primarily on two factors, labelled 'personal control' and 'control ideology.' It was hypothesized that black college students draw a distinction between personal competence by efficacy and a general ideology about the role of external forces in determining success or failure in the culture at large. Sanger and Alker (1972) reported a similar personal control vs. control ideology factor structure in a study of college-age feminists and non-activist control subjects, and in results analogous to Gurin et al., found that feminists were more internal on the personal control dimension than on that of control ideology. However, Mirels (1970) and Cherlin and Borque (1974), in factor analyses of both men and women college students' responses, found another two-factor structure not correspondent to those resported by other researchers. The findings of factor analytic studies do not, then, support Rotter's (1975) claim that the I-E Scale is unidimensional.

In their attempt to account for the discrepancies among various reported factor solutions, Nagelschmidt and Jakob (1977) point out that most of the research using the I-E Scale has employed very similar populations. Subjects have generally been under thirty years of age, middle class, and of North American origin. When another type of sample is used, e.g., blacks, or other cultural groups, the I-E appears to cluster differently. They conclude that there is a general tendency for the factorial structure of the scale to differ as a function of the population under study, and that direct comparison of the I-E Scale cross-culturally may as a consequence be misleading.

The Adjective Check List

The Adjective Check List (Gough and Heilbrun, 1965) presents an index of descriptive terms covering a wide range of behavior, self-conceptions and personal values that, among other uses, can be employed by an individual for self-description. It is a measure of personal attributes as perceived by the self. Every language has a class of words used for descriptions and specification; a particular set of adjectives may be more relevant in one culture than another, but the ACL technique itself is presumed to be universally applicable as a method of recording self-descriptions. The ACL, which has been translated into several different languages and normed for a number of countries, is coming increasingly into use in cross-cultural investigations (Gendre and Ogay, 1973; Gough and Abbele, 1967).

The value of the Check List is that it can offer words or ideas commonly used for description in everyday life in a format which is systematic and standardized. The ACL provides the respondent with a method of reporting his reactions much as he would in ordinary discourse or an interview. The 300-word adjective list yields twenty-four scales, some derived by empirical modes of analyses involving the detection of clusters of adjectives that covary with some particular criterion or nontest referent,and others by rational or theoretical modes of analyses. Fifteen of the 24 scales represent a disposition within Murray's (1938) need-press system (see Table 2 for scale names). Extensive work has been conducted on ACL scale reliability (Heilbrun, 1965) and validity as indices of personality traits (Miller et al., 1978).

Kelly Role Construct Repertory Test

The Role Construct Repertory was designed by Kelly (1955) to measure the personal construct systems of a clinical population. Kelly theorized that people attempt to understand the world of experience by developing implicit theoretical frameworks from which hypotheses about the occurrence of events are generated. These hypotheses are tested behaviorally by the individual and the outcome of their use leads to either the validation, revision, or abandonment of part of the theoretical system. The basic unit of such a system of thought Kelly called a construct, which is simply the recognition of similarity and contrast between sets of things. For example, a person construes acquaintances by forming an opinion that some are friendly and others hostile. The construct friendly/hostile becomes part of the individual's system of personal constructs with a range of convenience that is limited to a set of elements, i.e., acquaintances. Originally social role titles (e.g., boss, teacher, etc.) were the stimulus elements for which the subject provided constructs. However, varying the stimulus elements or asking respondents to provide their own elements allows the repertory technique to be used in the exploration of subjects' construction of a wide scope of experiences ranging from works of art to actual life situations or architectural features. It has been found particularly helpful in the study of thought disorder in schizophrenia (Bannister and Fransella, 1976) and in the exploration of psychotherapy process and outcome (Cartwright and Lerner, 1963), as well as in marketing research (Riley and Palmer, 1976) and in environmental psychology (Stringer, 1976). The technique has also been employed in ethnographic studies of Ugandans' construction of mental health, illness and their spirit world (Orley and Leff, 1972; Orley, 1976) and of the constructs governing Japanese midwives' views on the use of birth control (Simon, 1976); however, there have been no studies reported in which REP technique was employed in comparisons of different cultures.

By its very nature the Role Construct Repertory lends itself to the task of capturing the emic qualities of a cultural setting in a form that can be relatively easily transposed into etic categories. The contents of the REP test are generated by each individual respondent and represent an internal description of the framework used to construe the personal social world, presumably heavily influenced by culture. Those aspects of the measure that are imposed upon the respondent, the social role titles, are by and large universal, e.g., mother, person who interests you, brother, and the like. Emic, or culture specific categories can be identified and labelled from a pool of constructs from a given cultural setting. Similarly, generated emic categories from other cultures can subsequently be contrasted for their equivalence, and by modification and adjustment of categories, an etic or transcultural category system can be created which ultimately allows quantitative cross-cultural comparisons.

Method

Sample

A total of 159 female subjects from three different populations participated in this study. Two samples, black American (N=48) and black Jamaican (N=56), volunteers from high school classes in the San Francisco Bay Area and Kingston, Jamaica, respectively, were from a middle to upper-middle class family background. Parental income for these two groups ranged from $10,000 to $25,000 per year, and occupations were predominantly in management, civil service, teaching or other professional areas. In order to investigate the influences of socioeconomic status as well as race and culture on personality, an additional black American sample (N=55) from a lower socioeconomic background was included in the study. These subjects were participants in a summer youth employment program; the majority of the parents of these adolescents were either unemployed or received State aid; family income ranged from $1,000 to $7,000 per year with an average of $3,500. All subjects were between 14 and 19 years with a mean age of 15.7.

Procedure

In addition to a demographic questionnaire, all subjects were administered the Internal-External Locus of Control Scale, the Adjective Check List, and the group form of Kelly's Role Construct Repertory Test. Subjects read through the I-E Scale and responded individually. The ACL was administered in a slightly different manner. Although the ACL includes words and ideas commonly used for description in everyday life, and presumes no special knowledge or competence, some of the adjectives might have nevertheless been unfamiliar to these adolescent subjects. Although Jamaica is an English-speaking country, a dialect or patois is commonly spoken in non-official transactions and heavily influences accepted word meanings and usage. In the same way, young U.S. blacks use "Black English" as a predominant mode of expression in the black community (Labov, 1972). Dillard (1972) has argued that Black English, which varies from standard English in important and systematic ways, is a precise language with a history and grammar of its own. In light of these considerations, pilot studies with a few subjects representative of each of the samples were conducted in which subjects were asked to check those words on the ACL they thought their peers might have difficulty understanding. In all, about 120 words were identified as being unfamiliar, and were subsequently given standard definitions. During administration of the ACL to sample populations, the word list was read aloud by the experimenter as groups of subjects went through the adjectives together; a definition was also read for those adjectives identified as unfamiliar in the pilot studies. For example, 'aloof' means not very sociable, standoffish; and 'unassuming' means you are modest and natural.

The Role Construct Repertory (REP) asks respondents to generate constructs about sets of individuals in their lives. A list of fifteen elements representing common social roles was presented: for example, mother, teacher you liked best, boss, etc. Subjects were then asked to select persons from their own life experience who have played each of the fifteen roles, and to write down the names of these people, e.t., the names of their fathers, brothers (if the subject did not have a brother, she was instructed to write down the name of a person who was most like a brother) and so on. This form of selection presumably guarantees the personal relevance of the Repertory. Beneath this list of names, circles denoted three of the fifteen elements which were to be considered as a group, or triad. One example of a triad combines the elements: your sister nearest your age, the person you most look up to, and the most interesting person you know personally. Another group is: a teacher you disliked (or teacher of a subject you disliked), a boss you have worked for, and the person you feel most sorry for, together in a triad. The Repertory presents a total of fifteen triads specifically chosen by Kelly for their ability to elicit a wide variety of personal constructs. Subjects were instructed to mark an X in the circle beneath the names of two people in the triad who are similar in some way and different from the third person, and to offer a word or phrase that describes this similarity, and then to state its opposite. Since the administration of the REP is somewhat complicated, an overhead projector was used to demonstrate the entire procedure. The following are examples of constructs from this study: bossy/easygoing, outgoing/shy, looked up to/looked down to.

As a first step, separate emic category systems were independently developed for the constructs generated by the three samples. Two members of each of the populations initially sorted the pool of constructs for their respective samples into subjective groupings based on perceived similarity among constructs. The three independent category systems arrived at in this manner were then compared and further refined in order to develop etic categories with equivalent meaning across samples. Although many of the initial categories were equivalent in content and meaning across sample, e.g., Appeal, Social Role, Relationship-Kin, Interest and Abilities, and Physical, and were therefore retained, others were not comparable, and were subsequently modified. For example, Assertion, one of the initial categories in both the U.S. samples had to be subdivided into two categories, Social Dominance and Introversion-Extroversion, to accomodate constructs of related but differing meaning in the Jamaican sample. Through this process of retaining, modifying and elaborating, eleven categories with essentially equivalent meanings were developed, forming a derived etic (cross-cultural) framework. Finally, a sample of approximately 400 constructs from each of the three populations was sorted into the derived etic category system by independent raters. Interrater agreement between two judges in assignment of constructs to the etic categories was 77 percent (see Table 3 for names of categoires and representative constructs).

Results and Discussion

Locus of Control

Analysis of variance of I-E Scale scores revealed no significant differences among middle class Jamaican and middle and lower SES U.S. samples (F=1.54, df=2,157). I-E Scale item responses for each sample were submitted to independent factor analyses; principal components solutions and varimax rotations were obtained separately for the samples from the matrix of correlations of the responses to the I-E Scale items. Meaningful factors were identified through an examination of the eigen values of each factor. Items were considered to define a factor if their loading on that factor was .40 or greater and if the item had no comparable loading on another factor. Items with loadings greater than .30 were included if the content of such items clearly fit the analytical construct which dominated the factor. Two factor solutions resulted for all three samples. Table 1 presents items included in the final factor solutions and their loadings. Items that load on Factor I for the Jamaican sample represent a perception of life events as governed by fate and accidental

Table 1

I-E Scale Factor Solutions for Jamaican and Black American Samples

Factor Solution

Jamaican

Factor 1 (percent of variance: 67.5)

Items: (Externally scored choice)

		Loadings
2.	Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.	.40
5.	Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.	.44
7.	No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.	.38
10.	Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.	.35
11.	Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.	.60
15.	Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.	.51
16.	Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.	.73
17.	As far as world affairs are concerned most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand nor control.	.51
18.	Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.	.37
23.	Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.	.45
25.	Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.	.38
28.	Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.	.39

Factor 2 (percent of variance: 32.5)

4.	Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard she tries.	-.32
12.	This world is run by a few people in power and there is not much the little guy can do about it.	-.34
13.	It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.	-.41
20.	It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.	.47
22.	It is difficult for people to have much control over things politicians do in office.	-.44
29.	Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.	-.32

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Factor Solution

Black American

Middle SES

Factor 1 (percent of variance: 66.3)

Item	Loadings
4. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.	.42
7. No matter how hard you try, some people just don't like you.	.44
10. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.	.43
13. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.	.37
15. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.	.76
18. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.	.46
23. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.	.32
26. There is not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you they like you.	.49
28. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my like is taking.	.84

Factor 2 (percent of variance: 33.7)

2. Many of the unhappy things in life are partly due to bad luck.	-.37
5. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.	.51
6. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.	.48
9. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.	.40
11. Getting a job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.	.42

Factor Solution

Black American

Low SES

Factor 1 (percent of variance: 52.1)

3. There will always be wars no matter how hard people try to prevent them.	.53
13. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.	.55
17. As far as world affairs are concerned most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand nor control.	.57
26. There is not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you they like you.	.61
29. Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.	.51

Factor 2 (percent of variance: 47.9)

10. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.	.52
11. Getting a good job depends mainly on being at the right place at the right time.	.42
16. Who gets to be boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.	.48

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Item	Loadings
21. In the long run the bad things are balanced by the good ones.	.42
23. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.	.54
28. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.	.57

happenings, while Factor 2, comprised primarily of internally scored choices, suggests that Jamaicans feel they have some influence over their political destinies and the outcome of personal relationships. Items loading on Factor 1 for the middle SES black American sample address control over one's life and other's personal reactions; Factor 2 concerns control over success and achievement. The first factor for the low SES black American sample seems to capture a certain sense of fatalism, while Factor 2, although different in item content from a second factor of the middle SES sample, also reflects a concern with personal accomplishment.

The most striking finding here is the substantially different factor structure for the three populations; moreover, the present factor solutions generally fail to resemble those found by other researchers. The preponderance of I-E research has employed very similar populations, i.e., white, middle class students, under thirty years of age and from North America, so the emergence of different factor structures for black populations in the U.S. and the West Indies should come as no surprise. It is possible that the widely varying factor solutions reported by other investigators can be attributed to the use of many different types of factor analytic procedures and, in some cases, the inclusion of items in addition to those of the I-E Scale in the factor analysis (Cherlin and Borque, 1974). In the present instance identical procedures yielded very different solutions, suggesting that the I-E Scale does in fact cluster differently in varying sample populations. It remains open to questions whether these factors represent actual dimensions of the locus of control construct in dissimilar populations or whether, as Rotter (1975) has argued, they simply reveal similarities perceived by different groups among different sets of items. Nevertheless, the discovery of factor solutions for black populations that differ not only from those found on white samples, but from each other as well, raises serious question about the equivalence of meaning of the I-E Scale both cross-culturally and for populations dissimilar from that upon which it was constructed.

Adjective Check List

ACL scale scores were computed for each of the three samples. Analyses of variance were then conducted comparing the means of the three samples on the 24 ACL scales. Sixteen scales differed at a significance level of .05 or better; 10 scales were significant beyond the .01 level. A summary of the analysis of variance of the ACL scale score means is presented in Table 2. In order to determine source of variance, post-hoc comparisons were conducted between scale means for the various samples. Black Americans and Jamaicans of comparable socioeconomic background differed significantly ($P < .05$) on four of 24 scales: Jamaicans higher on Lability, Exhibition and Abasement; black Americans higher on Dominance. Jamaicans then, see themselves as more spontaneous and excitable than their American counterparts as well as more self-assured, poised and sociable. Moreover, they probably hold more traditional attitudes towards authority and appear more self critical. American young women, on the other hand, view themselves as more forceful and strong-willed.

Comparisons of the sample of black youth from lower SES family backgrounds with the other two samples revealed a great many significant differences. Lower class black youth were higher than the middle SES samples on Number of Adjectives Checked, Defensiveness, Favorable items checked, Personal Adjustment, Achievement, Endurance, Order, Intraception,

Table 2

Differences Among Jamaicans and Black Americans on Adjective Check List Scale Scores

ACL Scales	Jamaican (Middle SES) M.	S.D.	Black American (Middle SES) M.	S.D.	Black American (Low SES) M.	S.D.	MS	F.	Sig. Level
No. of Adjectives checked	50.29	(11.57)	51.09	(55.82)	55.82	(9.50)	457.93	4.02	.05
Defensiveness	46.23	(9.78)	45.98	(9.39)	50.72	(9.41)	357.49	3.93	.05
No. of Favorable Adj. checked	50.23	(10.03)	50.57	(9.79)	54.80	(9.34)	329.06	3.47	.05
No. of Unfavorable Adj. checked	50.07	(9.47)	51.04	(10.47)	45.56	(.98)	425.19	5.18	.01
Self confidence	48.43	(9.28)	48.70	(8.58)	51.76	(7.65)	174.01	2.37	NS
Self-control	48.46	(8.13)	48.38	(7.87)	53.94	(8.38)	511.57	7.73	.001
Lability	52.48	(9.02)	48.62	(6.94)	46.36	(7.90)	510.58	7.86	.001
Personal Adjustment	46.63	(10.33)	47.36	(8.58)	51.22	(8.00)	312.19	3.78	.05
Achievement	47.41	(8.35)	47.60	(7.73)	53.58	(7.80)	623.58	9.78	.001
Dominance	47.96	(9.05)	51.43	(54.46)	54.46	(7.04)	559.85	8.09	.001
Endurance	49.04	(7.63)	48.87	(8.51)	55.40	(8.68)	698.09	10.24	.001
Order	49.11	(7.41)	46.32	(7.66)	54.88	(7.87)	934.64	16.01	.001
Intraception	48.48	(8.07)	48.79	(9.93)	53.18	(7.04)	350.94	4.99	.01
Nurturance	47.93	(7.70)	47.11	(9.45)	51.02	(8.92)	210.8	2.81	NS
Affiliation	46.16	(9.37)	46.94	(9.09)	46.88	(9.75)	9.93	.11	NS
Heterosexuality	51.29	(9.48)	52.74	(8.26)	51.68	(8.74)	28.44	.36	NS
Exhibition	49.18	(9.98)	53.15	(8.54)	50.68	(7.63)	203.03	2.61	NS
Autonomy	50.29	(8.26)	53.09	(8.64)	50.68	(6.37)	113.25	1.85	NS
Aggression	50.54	(7.26)	52.45	(9.25)	48.22	(7.85)	217.69	3.31	.05
Change	48.32	(9.69)	48.60	(7.31)	47.76	(6.40)	8.90	.14	NS
Succorance	47.18	(6.25)	48.06	(9.59)	43.24	(6.47)	327.39	5.82	.01
Abasement	50.70	(8.47)	46.45	(9.42)	48.12	(7.14)	237.57	3.39	.05
Deference	47.84	(7.95)	46.57	(8.21)	48.40	(6.66)	42.23	.72	NS
Counseling Readiness	52.82	(8.40)	52.36	(8.96)	58.84	(8.28)	655.58	8.99	.001

Nurturance, and *Counseling Readiness*, and lower on *Unfavorable* items checked and *Succorance*. Jamaicans, however, scored higher on the *Lability* scale, while middle SES Americans were higher on *Abasement* and *Aggression*. The socioeconomic differences are impressive, and appear to overshadow important cross-national differences. A remarkable feature is the strongly positive fashion in which the less economically advantaged subjects described themselves. These young people checked significantly more favorable items than middle class subjects, and consistently emphasized their good qualities while overlooking undesirable characteristics. It is as if they are acutely aware of society's unfavorable image of them, and have adopted in response the ethic of racial pride and positive self-concept that has re-emerged in the American black community in recent decades. This conscious and pervasive effort to be seen, and to view oneself, in positive fashion may in part account for the large discrepancy in self description between these young women and those of middle class background.

Personality Correlates of the I-E Scale

In order to examine personality correlates of the locus of control dimension, total I-E Scale scores were correlated with the 24 ACL scales independently for the three samples. It has been pointed out (Mirels, 1970) that correlations between I-E scores and other variables have consistently been low; the present study is no exception. However, these data are reported because they shed light on the meaning of I-E scores cross-nationally and across differing population samples.

Although no correlations attained significance for the Jamaican sample, a number of significant associations emerged for the U.S. middle SES sample. Consistent with what might be predicted theoretically, the internal subject in this group scores higher on the ACL measures of *Achievement* ($r = -.33$, $p < .01$), *Dominance* ($r = -.37$, $p < .01$), *Endurance* ($r = -.33$, $p < .01$), and *Affiliation* ($r = -.27$, $p < .05$). In the low SES U.S. sample, the internal scorer is high on *Lability* ($r = -.26$, $p < .01$), and contrary to expectations, high on *Deference* ($r = -.20$, $p < .05$), and low on *Autonomy* ($r = .24$, $p < .01$). Perhaps the most telling findings, however, emerge from a comparison of *patterns* of associations, particularly when contrasted to the results of a similar analysis by Hersch and Scheibe (1967) on a sample of white female and male subjects (there were no differences between the sexes). The correlations for the three black samples in the present study are frequently in the opposite direction from those found for the white sample. In the Jamaican group, 8 of 24 correlations are in contrary directions, while for the low SES sample, six are in opposite directions, and in the middle SES sample, one. It appears that the more similar in nationality and class the black samples are to the white sample, the greater the resemblance in pattern of I-E - ACL scale correlations. The fact that all of Hersch and Scheibe's correlations are theoretically consistent for whites suggests that I-E scores have different personologic implications for the Jamaican and U.S. populations.

The varying patterns of correlations across samples appears to provide further evidence for the lack of equivalence of meaning of the I-E Scale not only cross-culturally but across U.S. subcultures as well. These findings, then, support the argument that studies of racial minorities within a nationality are appropriately conducted in a framework consistent with the principles of cross-cultural research. In comparative racial studies within the U.S., measures developed on white populations may, when used with black populations, comprise an emic categorization that does not reflect accurately aspects of experience relevant to ethnicity.

Personal Constructs

The frequency of constructs occurring in each of the categories in the derived etic system was compared across the three samples using the chi-square statistic (see Table 3). Results revealed some intriguing contrasts in the ways in which Jamaican and American young women understand or construe their social world. In order of importance for cross-cultural differences, Jamaican girls tend to generate significantly more constructs in the Personal Characteristics, Relationship, Physical and Introversion-Extroversion categories. The use of such constructs suggests a highly interpersonal view of the world, one in which the social nexus is a primary

Table 3

Etic Category System and Representative Constructs

Categories

Appeal - Goodlooking/ugly, adorable/unadorable, looks aloof/friendly appearance, charming/ungracious, exciting/dull, unpopular/popular.

Personal Characteristics - generous/stingy,respectful/disrespectful, funky/clean, hip/conservative, gentle/rough, masculine/feminine, optimistic/pessimistic.

Maturity and Adjustment - dependable/undependable, calm/nervous, very silly/lot more together, have confidence/no confidence, dependent/independent, phony/told it like it was.

Concern for Others - always there when I need help/helps if has time, self-centered/think about others, concerned/unsympathetic, helping students/ don't care about young people.

Striving - work hard/do nothing, take on many jobs/unemployed, enterprising/non-energetic, searching for knowledge/stagnant, money making/broke, winners/losers.

Social Dominance - demanding/easygoing, bossy/act like I know things too, pushy/mind, domineering/submissive, encourages me/force, always fussing at people/not fussy.

Introversion-Extroversion - reserved/outspoken, outgoing/shy, flirtatious/meek, adventurous/cautious, talkative/quiet, social/unsociable.

Relationship - parents/not parents, grew up with/ new acquaintances, best friend/strangers, same family/different family, went with/didn't go with.

Social Role - teachers/students, gamblers/police, authorities, on my level, bachelor/married, leaders/not leaders, role model/couldn't identify with.

Interests and Abilities - genius/stupid, athletics/academics, artistic/scientific, original ideas/usual thinking, political interests/no political interests.

Physical - white/black, afro hairdos/straight hair, dark complexion/light, built/skinny, over six foot tall/ not six foot, same part of island/different part of island.

Cross-Cultural Comparison of Frequency of Constructs per Category

	Jamican	Black American			Jamican	Black American			Jami-can	Black American		
	Mid SES	Mid SES			Mid SES	Low SES			Mid SES	Low SES		
	N	N	X^2	P	N	N	X^2	P	N	N	X^2	P
Appeal	65	83	2.6669	.10	65	96	6.998	.01	83	96	.853	NS
Personal Char.	86	50	10.342	.001	86	60	5.236	.05	50	60	.728	NS
Maturity & Adj.	33	66	12.279	.001	34	48	2.296	.10	66	48,	3.214	.10
Concern for Others	24	18	.563	NS	24	33	1.209	NS	18	33	3.921	.05
Striving	23	28	.391	NS	23	28	.335	NS	28	28	.008	NS
Introv.-Extrov.	35	31	.110	NS	35	21	3.245	.10	31	21	1.790	NS
Social Domin.	6	19	6.104	.01	6	18	5.198	.05	19	18	.002	NS
Relationship	44	30	2.341	.10	44	15	14.346	.001	30	15	4.806	.05
Social Role	13	15	.051	NS	13	17	.312	NS	15	17	.021	NS
Interests & Abil.	32	35	.096	NS	32	34	.017	NS	35	34	.003	NS
Physical	38	20	5.147	.05	38	30	.788	NS	20	30	1.610	NS
Total N	400	395			400	400			395	400		

determinant of an individual's perspective on life. The constructs in these categories distinguish many different psychological and physical qualities of people as well as emphasizing close personal relationships. This world view would appear to be congruent with Jamaica's less industrialized, more traditional and rural society where a sense of personal and social relatedness is highly valued, and social interaction is one of the primary pleasures and concerns of life. In contrast, American young women were more likely to generate constructs that fell in the Maturity and Adjustment, Social Dominance and Appeal categories. Examination of these constructs suggests that acceptability, especially in terms of personal competence and power, is a prominent theme in the outlook of these young women. Constructs in these categories distinguish people in terms of personal ascendancy, maturity, sophistication and attractiveness, characteristics that are highly valued in our modern, Western society. In these respects young black American women of differing socioeconomic background share ways of understanding people in their realm of experience. The middle SES group, however, was more likely to describe others in terms of maturity and dependability, suggesting a greater concern over appropriateness and acceptability; furthermore, this population considered personal closeness and distance more salient in viewing others, perhaps implying a narrower and less permeable sense of interpersonal boundaries. The lower SES group produced more constructs in the Concern for Others category, suggesting they are more likely to view people in their world in terms of whether they are potentially available as sympathetic helpers.

It appears that the usefulness of the Kelly Role Construct Repertory for cross-cultural research has been overlooked. It circumvents the difficulties inherent in using more well known psychological measures in cultural contexts and sample populations that differ in important respects from those in which they were developed by capturing the emic qualities of the *cultural or subcultural) groups to be compared in a form that can be transposed into etic categories for quantitative comparison. Moreover, it provides a richness of data that few structured, forced-choice response formats offer.

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Reconceptualizing the Development of Racial Preference in Children:

The Role of Cognition

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to reexamine the development of racial conceptions and attitudes, especially as related to African/American children. The theoretical perspective chosen was cognitive-developmental theory because it has proven quite useful in the area of sex-role development. It was hypothesized that impersonal-cognitive development precedes and influences the development of interpersonal (social) cognition, which then influences the development of social affect (racial evaluations and preferences).

The subjects were 80 African/American children ages 4 to 11 years. The experimenters were of the same racial background. Level of impersonal cognitive functioning was assessed by four measures of conservation (two for mass and two for weight). Within the social cognitive domain, the extent to which the child used race as a classification for family members was measured. Also measured was the child's level of understanding that one's racial identity could not be altered by wishing and that racial classification was immutable despite conflicting and confusing evidence. This was called racial constancy. In the area of social affect, the childs evaluation and preference for African and European racial stimuli was measured by eight measures.

Evidence was found in support of the hypotheses. Specifically, impersonal cognition (conservation) preceded and facilitated social cognition (racial constancy), which was differentially associated with social affect (racial evaluation and preference) depending whether or not the child was between 4- to 7-years-old or between 8- to 11-years-old. For the 4- to 7-year-olds, achieving racial constancy meant a modal shift in social affect from "no bias" to pro-African/anti-European bias (A+/E-). With the 8- to 11-year-olds, the achievement of racial constancy was associated with a shift from a modal response of "no bias" to a bimodal response for both no bias and A+/E- bias.

In the course of development, children become aware of the social and conceptual groups to which they belong, relationships of these groups to other groups to which they do not belong or are excluded from, and how they are expected to feel about the situation. Central among these is one's racial group (primarily due to the impact of European racism on peoples of color).

Beginning with the early works of Kenneth and Mamie Clark (1939, 1940, 1947, 1950), many studies have attempted to understand the development of racial awareness, preference, identity and attitudes. (See review articles by Banks, 1976; Brand, Ruiz and Padilla, 1974; and Proshansky; 1966). However, only a few researchers have attempted to conceptualize the issues into any theoretical framework. Three such conceptualizations are by Goodman (1964), Porter (1971) and Katz (1976). They all agree upon an age/stage progression in the ability to perceive, process, and interpret ethno-racial cues, and end with the presence of fairly stable ethno-racial identity and outgroup attitudes (by the end of the primary school years). However, the sequential hypothesis has been largely overlooked in past designs of research strategies and interpretations of results. The proposal is to build a scheme with more explicit attention being given to cognitive-developmental theory (Kohlberg, 1969).

Cognitive development. A body of evidence has accumulated over the years showing qualitative and quantitative changes in the cognitive functioning of children, especially in the first ten years of life. This approach has been quite useful in the area of sex-role development (Emmerich, 1973; Emmerich, et al., 1977; Kohlberg, 1966; Kohlberg & Zigler, 1967).

In this approach it is assumed that interpersonal cognition has its base in impersonal cognition, especially in the development of operational skills, including classification abilities and conservation described by Piaget. An invariant three-stage approach is proposed by Piaget with approximate age norms of 2 to 5 years, 5 to 7 years and 7 to 11 years. In stage 1, the child fails to use any degree of consistency regarding rules or properties in sorting objectives into various classes. In stage 2, the child is able to sort objectd "by a reasonable defining property and is also able to construct a hierarchical classification" (Ginsburg & Opper, 1969). However, inclusive relations are not comprehended. Both these stages are considered preoperational, while stage 3 is considered concrete-operational. In stage 3, the child has a mature concept of class and is able to differentiate defining properties as well as hierarchies and subclasses. In the case of conservation, the stage 1 child tends to center on one dimension or aspect of a stimulus. In stage 2, the child begins to decenter and, instead of focusing on only one dimension or aspect, vacillates between them. These two stages are considered preoperational and together are characterized by thought processes which focus on only limited information. At stage 3, the child is capable of coordinating all the dimensions and aspects of a stimulus irrespective of transformations performed. This represents concrete operational thinking because "the child focuses on several aspects of a situation simultaneously, is sensitive to transformation, and can reverse the direction of his thinking" (p. 168, Ginsburg & Opper, 1968).

From a cognitive-developmental perspective, we question Porter's (1971) description of "incipient racial attitudes" and "strong social preferences" in 4- and 5-year-olds who could be classified (by age) as preoperational. These children should lack the ability to consistently sort people into ethno-racial groups. Goodmnan's (1964) stages are more plausible and receive some degree of empirical support. However, she (like Porter) neglects to mention how racial attitudes might be related to the concrete-operational stage (Katz's stage 4). It is believed that such a stage exists when the child becomes aware of the physical constancy of cues involved in ethno-racial classification. This stage may be an important transition between the early stage(s), during which ethno-racial cues are being classified and later stage(s), during which ethno-racial attitudes are being crystalized.

Hypotheses: Social-Cognitive Factors

Phase 1 - Classification of Racial Cues

Racial classification is most commonly defined as "the capacity of the child to apply current racial terms to persons in the manner which adults do" (Williams & Morland, 1976, p. 205). As wide as this definition may seem, the manner of its operationalization has been restricted to such questions as asking the child to "show me the NEGRO/CAUCASIAN/BLACK/COLORED/WHITE person." Clark and Clark (1939, 1947) initiated this approach and other researchers have been very reluctant to expand on it. This restrictive approach to the concept of classification omits the richness originally found in the work of Piaget (Ginsburg & Opper, 1969; Inhelder & Piaget, 1964). It does not address itself to other aspects of classification, such as, inclusion, subclasses, hierarchy, and spontaneous classification. It is believed that these other aspects of classification, especially spontaneous classification, are very critical to the development of racial identification and preference in children. Therefore, more must be done than just finding out if the child is able to associate a word with a picture of a person on demand (such as "show me the Black boy"). One needs to know under what conditions, in what situations, and at what stage of development racial classification becomes salient to the child.

Classification probably begins as early as the child becomes perceptually aware of physical differences in people. Children continually exposed to people of different races should begin to process racial cues earlier than those living in segregated perceptual worlds (Porter, 1971; Proshansky, 1966). Processes within this stage continue throughout the life of the individual, eventually becoming more objectively accurate and then taking on all kinds of social meanings. However, it is here hypothesized that until minimal skills for classifying people according to their ethno-racial group are achieved, the child cannot proceed to the next stage.

Phase 2 - Physical Constancy

As the child progresses in his mastery of ethno-racial cue classifications, he eventually recognizes the irrevocability of racial classification, both in self and others. This stage is similar to the development of gender constancy, but no data is available as to when racial constancy is mastered. Like Katz (1976), we see this stage conceptually as separating the early stage from late stages during which feelings, beliefs and behaviors attached to various groups become differentiated. Prior to the establishment of ethno-racial constancy, there is little ground on which to base ethno-racial preference and identification behaviors of children. Perhaps this is why the majority of studies of African children under seven (such as Clark & Clark, 1939, 1947, 1950; Gitter, *et al*., 1972; Kircher & Furby, 1971; Morland, 1958, 1963; Rice, *et al*., 1974; Stevenson & Steward, 1958) demonstrate chance responding to questions of self-identification, ethno-racial preference, and ethno-racial evaluation (Banks, 1976).

Hypotheses: Social-Affective Factors

Together, the above two stages define social-cognitive factors in the development of racial identity and attitudes. There are also affective features of these stages, since the child utilizes information provided by ethno-racial cues to make value judgments regarding both self and others. As the cognitive processing of racial information changes developmentally, so does the child's functioning regarding affective components, here described in terms of social desirability classifications or preferences. Here we are interested in the child's evaluations and preferences for racial stimuli, specifically African and European. As mentioned in the opening paragraph, the child becomes aware of the groups to which he beongs, relationships of these groups towards other groups to which he does not belong or is excluded from, and the ways he is expected to feel about the situation. Here we are interested in these feelings.

Table 1 shows hypothesized relationships between (1) impersonal-cognition stages, (2) social cognition stages, and (3) social affect. Initially

Table 1

Relationships among the Cognitive-Impersonal Cognitive-Social and Social-Affective Domains in the Development of Ethno-Racial Identifications and Evaluations

Cognitive-Impersonal	Cognitive-Social	Social Affect
Preoperational	Beginning Classification of Cues	Affect not Based on Ethno-Racial Classification
	No Racial Constancy	
	Beginning Racial Constancy	
Concrete Operational	Complete Classification of Cues	Crystallization of Identification and Evaluation
	Complete Racial Constancy	

we expect the child to express no evaluation or preference to racial cues. The review by Brand, et al. (1974) concludes that "in general, research has indicated that ethno-racial awareness emerges about age four, with fine discriminative and conceptual skills developing thereafter" (p. 880). Researchers have postulated awareness to begin as early as three (Porter, 1971) and as late as age eight (Lasker, 1929), but we suspect Brand et al., (1974) are probably correct in choosing the age range of 3 to 5 years. In any event, the child who cannot classify racial cues probably does not demonstrate identification or preference regarding these cues.

By the time children reach the concrete-operational stage, they should have the ability to consistently and accurately classify and utilize racial cues and to understand the irrevocability of racial cue classifications (constancy). This mastery will enable children to more fully understand the concept of "group", thus enabling them to exhibit social affects which are based on group stereotypes.

Summary of Hypotheses

Based on the literature reviewed and the hypothesized phases, we can summarize our predictions as follows:

1. Cognitively-related age trends will be evident for all measured processes in the development of racial conceptions and evaluations: in impersonal cognitions, in the social cognition of racial cues, and in social affect towards racial cues.

2. The child develops certain impersonal cognitive abilities prior to certain social cognitive skills involving racial dues.

Thus the presence of impersonal cognitive skills, indicative of concrete operations, should facilitate the development of the social cognitive skill for racial constancy.

3. Within the social cognitive domain, racial classification skills will begin to develop before the child achieves racial constancy.

4. Social affect should be related developmentally to the level of social cognition of racial cues. Specifically, the child's evaluations and preferences for various racial stimuli are expected to be affected by the ability to classify racial cues. Prior to the establishment of racial classifications and constancy, children are expected to show little consistency in ethno-racial preferences. Following the establishment of racial consistent ethno-racial preferences.

Method

This study required three sets of instruments corresponding to the three domains outlined in Table 1: (1) Measures of the child's level of impersonal-cognitive functioning, using Piagetian tasks for classification and conservation; (2) measures of the child's level of social-cognitive functioning to determine when the child utilizes ethnoracial cues as well as his (her) understanding of racial constancy, and (3) measures of the child's "social-affect" towards ethno-racial stimuli. Such measures provide information on the child's preferences with respect to ethno-racial stimuli and groups. Detailed descriptions of each measure is available elsewhere (Semaj 1978).

Impersonal Cognition Tasks

The child's level of functioning with respect to the Piagetian concept of conservation was assessed using Elkind's (1968) procedure for investigating the conservation of mass and weight. This was done with both play dough and wooden blocks. A combination of prediction, judgment and explanation scores allowed us to score and categorize each child on each of the four tasks as follows:

1 = no conservation.
2 = no conservation due to perceptual reasons.
3 = conservation, but no explanation given.
4 = conservation and an explanation given.

Social Cognition Tasks

Social cognition instruments were chosen to measure (1) the salience of racial cues, and (2) physical constancy in racial classification. They consisted of both picture choices and interviews. (See Semaj (1978) for a detailed description of instruments.) The salience of racial cues was assessed using two items to measure the extent to which the child used racial cues in classifying family members. In the first item, the child was shown two greeting cards. One pictured a Black couple and the other a white couple, and the child was asked, "Which card would you send to your Mom and Dad?" After the choice was made, (s)he was then asked, "Why did you choose that one?" For the second item, the cards were of Black and white children of the same sex as the child. Now (s)he was asked to select a card for a brother, or sister or cousin and then to justify the choice. For both items the responses were scored in the following categories based on the child's choice and reason: (a) white card; (b) white card plus racial reason; (c) black card; and (d) black card plus racial reason.

Constancy

The physical constancy of racial identity was measured by modifying the Boy-Girl Identity Task used by Emmerich and Goldman (1972). The gender stimuli were changed to race stimuli, but the format remained the same. This task enabled assessment of whether or not the child knew that racial identity is invariant; i.e., cannot be changed by "wishing" or by superficial alterations in skin coloring and hair type. As seen in Table 2, item one asked the child if a Black boy (or girl) could become white if (s)he really wanted to be. The other three items inquired if changing hair (using a wig), or changing color of face (using makeup), or changing both would result in a change of racial identity. Each child was shown a stimulus figure of his(her) gender and was asked to provide reasons if a racial constancy response was given.

Table 2

Black-White Identity Task

Item 1: If John (Jane) really wants to be a White boy (girl, can he (she) be?

Item 2: If John (Jane) puts on a blond wig like this, what would he (she) be? Would he (she) be a Black boy (girl) or a White boy (girl)?

Item 3: If John (Jane) puts makeup on his (her) face to change the color, like this, what would he (she) be? A Black boy (girl) or a White boy (girl)?

Item 4: If John (Jane) puts makeup on his (her) face to change the color, and puts on a blond wig so that he (she) now looks like this, what would he (she) be? Would he (she) be a Black boy (girl) or a White boy (girl)?

Scoring. Each item was scored for judgment of constancy and justification using guidelines from Emmerich, *et al.*, (1976). Constancy was indicated when the child said that the stimulus could not change his/her race. A combination of judgment and justification scores provided the following scores for each item:

0 = no constancy.
1 = constancy and no justification.
2 = constancy and stimulus description.
3 = constancy and appropriate justification.

Social Affect Task

The measures of social affect assessed the child's evaluations and preferences with regard to both visual and verbal racial cues. Two measures assessed the evaluation of racial stimuli in single cue situations while four others evaluated racial stimuli in contrasting or forced choice situations. The following are brief descriptions of the measures. (For further information see Semaj, 1978.)

Single cue measures - These two measures, consisting of five open ended questions each, assessed the childs evaluation of African and European racial stimuli independently of each other. They were callsed Social Affect to Black (SAB) and Social Affect to White (SAW).

Contrasting or forced choice measures - Using both visual and verbal cues (seperately), the Racial Reference Group Tasks measured the child's knowledge of group preferences as well as self-preferences. Each child was asked to select between a Black and a white child (1) the preferred playmate for another Black child, (2) for a white child, and (3) for self. The Preschool Racial Attitude Measure (PRAM) (Williams, et al., 1975) consisted of twelve pair of colored photographs. Each pair was contrasted with respect to skin color and was accompanied by a story concerning an activity which was either desirable or undesirable. The child was then asked to associate each story with one of the persons and received a score of +1 for every response evaluating Black relatively more positively than whites. The color Preference Item asked the child, "What color would you choose to be if you could be any color?" The Racial Evaluation Item asked, "which is better, Black or white?" for both these items a response of "Black" was scored +2, "Brown" +1, "white" or "other" was scored "O."

The instruments were presented in the following order:

1. Salience of Racial Cues in family situation.
2. Conservation Task.
3. Preschool Racial Attitude Measure.
4. Racial Constancy.
5. Racial Reference Group.
6. Social Affect to Black.
7. Social Affect to white.
8. Color Preference Item.
9. Racial Evaluation Item.

Instruments six and seven were counterbalanced.

Sample and General Procedures

Subjects. The subjects of this study were 80 African/American children enrolled in grades K through 6 in two schools in New Jersey. Since previous studies have not shown any consistent findings regarding differences in racial identification and preferences as a function of school setting (Brand, et al., 1974), the samples were combined and divided into four age groups: 4- to 5-, 6- to 7-, 8- to 9-, 10- to 11-year-olds, consisting of 20 subjects each. The gender distribution for each group is shown in Table 3. The sample could be described as predominantly working class with a few professionals.

Table 3

Subjects in Study by Age and Gender

Age group	Age in years	Age in Months Mean	S.D.	Females	Males	Total
1	4-5	57.7	7.4	14	6	20
2	6-7	80.7	7.2	11	9	20
3	8-9	105.2	7.7	8	12	20
4	10-11	133.6	6.9	12	8	20
			Total	45	35	80

Experimenters. Testing was conducted by the investigator and four female testers who were all of similar racial background as the children. The testers were intensively trained prior to data collection using the following procedure. First, they became familiar with the theoretical and research background of the study. Second, the investigator administered all instruments to each tester. Third, testers role-played as subjects for each other and were exposed to potential problems (and their solutions). Fourth, each tester observed the investigator administering the instruments to some children. Fifth, the investigator observed each tester administering the instruments to some children. When both tester and investigator were convinced of the tester's competence, the tester began to collect data.

Procedures. Written parental consent was obtained prior to any testing. Only 16% of the parents contacted declined to give their consent. All testing was done individually in suitable facilities on the school premises (with the exception of three children tested at home), and averaged 31 minutes per child. The range of testing times were from 20-45 minutes, with all testing done in one session. Usually, the investigator and tester(s) were introduced to a class by the teacher, and the children were informed that we would be talking to some of them about different things. No child was tested at the time of a math or reading class or when working at a favorite subject. Rapport was established with each child prior to testing by conversing about his/her interests. This was quite successful, because only two children refused to answer questions. At the end of each session, each child was asked not to reveal to anyone what had been discussed. We obtained excellent cooperation from the children.

Results and Discussion

Sex, experimenter, and school differences were non significant in almost all comparisons. Consequently, these subgroups were pooled in all of the present analyses.

Impersonal Cognition

In the impersonal-cognitive domain, our objective was to measure the children's level of functioning with respect to the Piagetian stages of properations and concrete operations. The four measures were significantly intercorrelated with each other ($r > .42$, $p < .001$) and with age ($r > .51$, $p < .001$). The measure was correlated the highest with the others and age was the wooden block measure for conservation of weight ($r = .59$).

In this measure conservation was demonstrated by 30% of the 4-5's, 35% of the 6-7's, 75% of the 8-9's and 95% of the 10-11 year-olds ($X^2=30.1$, $df=3$, $p < .001$).

The sum of the four conservation measures provided a composite measure of impersonal cognitive functioning. This composite measure had a greater correlation with age than any of its components ($r=.67$, $p < .001$).

Social Cognition

Two aspects of social cognition were assessed: (1) The salience of racial cues in the classification of family members, and (2) The child's awareness of the irrevocability of racial classifications (racial constancy). It was hypothesized that these two classes of variables provided intervening links between the impersonal-cognitive domain and the social-affective domain.

Salience of racial cues. Race was a salient cue in family situations for many children, as 69% of them chose a card which had the picture of an African couple or child. With age groups combined, children were most likely to choose the "racially appropriate" card ($X^2 = 11.2$, $df = 1$, $p < .01$) for both measures (Tables 4 and 5). However, no significant age trends were present for these tasks. From these findings we may infer that children do tend to use racial cues in classifying family members.

Table 4

Frequency Distribution of Greeting Card Choice for Parents, by Age Group

	Age Group				
Card Chosen	4-5	6-7	8-9	10-11	Total
White Couple	6	6	6	7	25
Black Couple	11	9	10	2	32
Black Couple & Racial Reason	3	5	4	11	23
Total	20	20	20	20	80

Table 5

Frequency Distribution of Greeting Card Choice for Sibling, by Age Group

	Age Group				
Card Chosen	4-5	6-7	8-9	10-11	Total
White Child	7	9	2	7	25
Black Child	8	10	14	5	37
Black Child & Racial Reason	5	1	4	8	18
Total	20	20	20	20	80

It is likely that this task was affective as well as cognitive, so that it not only elicited classification abilities but also preferences. The predominant justification offered by the 4- to 9-year-olds for their card selections was that it was the one they preferred or the one their parent/sibling would prefer. On the other hand, the 10- to 11-year-olds most frequently justified their choice of the black card by saying "Because my parents are Black," or "Because my brother/sister is Black." On the family situation task, the selection of a white card was scored +1, the selection of a black card without racial justification was scored +2, and the selection of a black card accompanied by racial justification was scored +3. This composite score had a range of 2-6, since each child selected cards for both parent and sibling.

Racial Constancy

These items measured the extent to which the child understands that racial identity cannot be changed by wishing or by superficial alterations in skin coloring and hair type.

The results on the four racial constancy items are shown in Table 6. Our cell sizes made chi-square analyses inappropriate for testing for age trends, so the correlations of the quantified scores with age were used for this purpose. Items 1, 3 and 4 correlated significantly with child's are ($r > .30$ $p < .01$).

These findings generally support the hypothesis that racial constancy contributes a phase in the development of racial conceptions. However, it appears that the development of this ability is spread over a wide age span. For example, 20% of the 4- to 5-year-olds "knew" that a Black person couldn't become a white person if she/he wanted to. However, only 40% of the 10-11-year-olds had constancy when skin color and hair was altered (Table 6). These outcomes suggest that complete mastery of racial constancy may not occur until the child is beyond age eleven.

Table 6

Distributions of Responses on Racial Constancy Items, by Age Group

Items	Child's Response	Age Group				
		4-5	6-7	8-9	10-11	Total
Can a Black child become a White child . . .	Score					
1. if s/he really wants to?	0 = No Constancy	15	7	3	4	29
	1 = Constancy/No justification	0	0	0	0	0
	2 = Constancy/Stimulus Description	1	1	1	0	3
	3 = Constancy/Approp. Justification	4	12	16	16	48
	Total	20	20	20	20	80
2. if s/he puts on a blond wig?	0	6	5	6	4	21
	1	5	2	2	1	10
	2	3	8	6	8	25
	3	6	5	6	7	24
	Total	20	20	20	20	80
3. if s/he changes the color of his/her face with make-up?	0	15	13	12	8	48
	1	2	0	0	0	2
	2	2	4	5	3	14
	3	1	3	3	9	16
	Total	20	20	20	20	80
4. if s/he changes the color of his/her face with make-up and puts on a blond wig?	0	13	16	15	9	53
	1	3	0	0	0	3
	2	2	1	2	3	8
	3	2	3	3	8	16
	Total	20	20	20	20	80

It also appears that skin color is a clearer cue for racial classification than its hair type. One possible explanation is that children learn that even though there is a wide variation in skin pigmentation associated with Black people, the variation in hair type and color, is even greater. Phenotypic classification of an individual as "Black" is usually based more on the presence of dark pigmentation than on hair type because of the common practice among African/Americans (especially women) to artificially alter the color and structure of their hair, making it more similar to European hair types. Perhaps this factor reduced the perceived differences between African and European hair types, yielding the lack of a developmental trend in the case of Item 2.

The sum of the three best racial constancy items provided a composite measure of racial constancy. This score had a range of 0-9 and correlated significantly with age ($r = .45$, $p < .001$).

Impersonal and Social Cognition

Our hypotheses suggested that impersonal cognition influences social cognition. We will now consider the preceding results in such a manner as to see if these hypotheses were supported.

The variable most highly correlated with age was impersonal-cognition ($r = .67$, $p < .001$) followed by racial constancy ($r = .45$, $p < .001$). This pattern suggests that racial classification variables have greater variability within age periods than does either constancy or conservation. Also, impersonal cognition correlated with racial constancy ($r = .51$, $p < .001$) and with the racial classification measure ($r = .23$, $p < .05$). The question now was one of sequence; i.e., which came first, impersonal-congition or social-cognition? Comparing the percentage of children at each age period who had attained conservation of mass and racial constancy, 95% of the 10- and 11-year-olds had conservation, but only 60% had racial constancy. The second piece of evidence was that, of 32 children having racial constancy, 88% had attained conservation. However, of the 47 children having conservation, only 60% had racial constancy. This pattern suggests that the children acquired conservation before racial constancy. Furthermore, the absence of conservation indicated an absence of racial constancy, but the presence of conservation did not guarantee the presence of constancy. However, only longitudinal data could confirm this point.

Impersonal-cognition accounted for 26% of the variance in racial constancy scores. When the effect of age was controlled by means of partial correlation, the variance was reduced to 9%, indicating that their mutual correlation with age accounted for their high correlation with each other. Nevertheless, even with age controlled, the correlation between conservation and racial constancy was significant ($r = .30$, $p < .006$).

The racial classification measure correlated significantly with both impersonal cognition and racial constancy. This further supports our inference of the interrelation of social cognition and impersonal cognition. But the sizes of the correlations prevents us from making specific inferences regarding the developmental sequences of racial classification relative to impersonal-cognition. Nonetheless, these findings are consistent with our second hypothesis.

Social Affect

The measures of social affect assessed the child's evaluation and preferences with regards to both visual and verbal cues in both forced choice/contrasting and single cue situations. The results of the social affect measures are summarized in Table 7.

In single cue situations we see that the children tend to attribute positive evaluations to both Black and White racial stimuli at ages 4 and 5. By 6 or 7 years, the evaluation of Black stimulus becomes more positive and that of White more neutral. Equivalent positive evaluations of both racial stimuli are again exhibited at 10- to 11-years.

There were no significant age trends for any of the Reference-Group Scores. But with the age groups combined, the children were more likely to show racial ingroup polarization in their choices ($X^2 = 9.8$, df = 1, p .01), except when asked to make playmate choice for self between the verbal cues "Black" and "white." In this condition, playmate selection showed no preference. Reference-Group Scores for self correlated more positively with scores for Africans ($r = .42$, $p < .001$) than it did for Europeans ($r = .26$, $p < .02$).

These findings suggest that by age 4 or 5, children are aware of the social norms of de facto racial segregation. However, these norms are not fully internalized, especially when dealing with race on a more abstract level, such as when verbal racial cues are used. We also see that children

Table 7

Summary of Mean Social Affect Scores by Age Group

Measures	Range	Age Groups 4-5	6-7	8-9	10-11
Single Cue					
Social affect to Black	-5 to +5	1.8	3.0	2.6	2.2
Social affect to White	-5 to +5	1.3	0.0	0.2	1.0
Contrasting Cues*					
African racial reference group	0 - 2	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.6
European racial reference group	0 - 2	1.5	1.6	1.7	1.6
Self racial reference group	0 - 2	1.0	1.5	1.4	1.2
General racial reference group	0 - 6	4.0	4.7	4.6	4.3
Preschool racial attitude measure	0 - 12	5.8	7.6	8.2	7.2
Color preference	0 - 2	0.7	1.4	1.8	1.6
Racial evaluation	0 - 2	1.2	1.6	1.9	1.5

*Higher scores indicate greater ingroup preference

can and do differentiate between the (racial) preference of another child (in a photograph) and of self. The fact that choices for self were less clearcut than choices for another child suggests that the child perceives race as relatively less important to self than the social norms dictate. This is probably because the child's social world is generally one in which race plays a minor part relative to such groupings as age and gender. Abel and Sahinkaya (1962) found that in 4- and 5-year-old Caucasian children the following could be concluded:

> 1. Sex preference emerged earlier than race preferences.
> 2. Race preference is not evident in . . . 4 year-olds but is displayed . . . in 5-year-olds.
> 3. Both 4- and 5-year-old boys prefer their own sex, but only boys show a definite preference for a member of their own race (p. 943).

There was a significant nonlinear age trend on the PRAM ($F = 2.8$, $df = 3$, $p < .05$). Duncan's Multiple Range Test revealed that the 8- and 9-year-olds had significantly higher PRAM scores than the 4- and 5-year-olds ($p < .05$). The correlation of Color Preference with age was significant ($r = .43$, $p < .001$) but Racial Evaluation's correlation with age was only marginally significant ($r = .22$, $p < .07$). On both measures Black preference increased from age 4 through 9, then declined somewhat.

Relationship among Social Affect Measures

Intercorrelations among the social affect measures revealed that they were highly interrelated. Each measure correlated significantly with at least two other measures, and with as many as seven others (see Table 8). The large number of significant correlations suggested that we were successful in tapping a wide range of overlapping components of social affect to race.

Table 8

Intercorrelation Matrix of Social Affect Measures

		A1	A2	B1	B2	B3	B4	C1	D1	D2	Average Intercorrelation
Social Affect to Black	A1										.34
Social Affect to White	A2	-.49***									.24
African Racial Reference Group	B1	.26	-.16								.28
European Racial Reference Group	B2	.11	-.18	.48***							.22
Self-Racial Reference Group	B3	.43**	-.27	.43***	.26*						.36
General Racial Reference Group	B4	.35*	-.26	.80***	.72***	.78***					.34
Preschool Racial Attitude	C1	.48***	-.12	.22*	.07	.33**	.28*				.22
Color Preference	D1	.30*	-.34*	.24*	.38**	.40**	.46***	.20			.33
Racial Evaluation	D2	.28	-.12	.18	.06	.41**	.39*	.08	.35**		.22
Age		-.13	-.10	.03	.08	.12	.10	.16	.43***	.22	

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

Only one measure correlated significantly with chronological age. This was the Color Preference Measure (D1), which also correlated significantly with seven of the eight other measures of social affect to race. Among the four Racial Preference Group Measures, the self measure had the highest average intercorrelation (r = .36). This measure also correlated significantly with seven of the eight social affect measures.

Interestingly, seven social affect measures showed curvilinear functions with respect to age. Pro- "Black" evaluations tended to increase after ages 4 to 5, but then decreased by ages 10 to 11, with some variation in timing among the tasks. Close scrutiny of the data suggests that the young children (4 to 5) had no consistent racial preference. At this age period, we saw the greatest variability in racial evaluations and preferences across all measures. In the middle age periods (6- to 9-year-olds), response patterns became more polarized toward "Black" preferences. The oldest children still showed modal Black preference, but they had more "no preference" responses than the middle groups, thus, reducing their absolute racial preference scores. Conversely, European evaluation, as measured by the Social Affect to White (SAW) task, was relatively positive at ages 4 to 5, decreased in the middle years (6 to 9), then increased again by 10 to 11 years.

This general curvilinear age relationship of racial preference among African/American children has not been widely discussed because many researchers have assumed linear developmental trends in this area. For example, "It seems pretty clear that prejudice among American youth increases with age" (Proshansky, 1966, p. 327). Brand, et al., (1974) also concluded that "once prejudices are formed, either positive or negative, they tend to increase with age" (p. 881). This may be so for European children, but these data say it's not so for African children. Further evidence for a curvilinear function can be found if one extracts the mean PRAM II scores for African children as measured by African examiners from Table 4.11 of the Williams & Morland, 1976. Here we see a similar curvilinear function for racial affect across grade levels 1-4. The means are 13.3, 11.9, 11.9 and 13.6 respectively. (Lower scores indicate greater pro-African/anti-European racial preference.

Cognition and Social Affect

The hypotheses suggested that impersonal-cognition influences social cognition, which, in turn, influences social affective behaviors. The preceding results will now be considered to see if these hypotheses were supported by our findings.

We saw that impersonal-cognition was positively related to chronological age. Also, that racial constancy was related positively to both age and impersonal cognition. These findings established that as a child got older his/her level of impersonal-cognitive functioning increased in a relatively linear manner. Such increase appeared to influence the development of racial constancy. Next, we saw that same-race preferences tended to increase with age between age 4 and 7 or 9, but then declined somewhat by age 10 or 11. Because of this curvilinear function of preference with age, it becomes appropriate to examine the relationships between cognitive and affective processes for the 4 to 7-year-olds separately from the 8 to 11-year-olds.

First, it is seen that among the 4- to 8-year-olds, chronological age correlated significantly with the impersonal-cognitive measure and some social affect measures. In fact, the mean correlation between age and social affect measures was .33, which was quite high. The correlation between age and racial constancy was only marginally significant ($r = .28$, $p < .08$). Generally, however, there are age trends across all three domains for 4- to 7-year olds (see Table 9).

Impersonal cognition correlated significantly with only one test measure, racial constancy. Thus, impersonal-cognition does not appear to directly influence the development of the affect measures in 4- to 7-year-old children. However, racial constancy and family classification did have a number of significant correlations with social affect measures at these ages, suggesting that a relationship exists between social cognition and social affect among 4- to 7-year-olds. Finally, affect measures tended to be intercorrelated, sometimes highly so.

Turning to the 8- to 11-year-olds (Table 10), we see that both impersonal cognition and racial constancy show age trends and that they are related to each other. Again, this is consistent with the findings for the combined sample.

As with the 4- to 7-year-olds, impersonal-cognition correlated significantly only with racial constancy, but had interesting (though non-significant) correlations with social affect, all in the opposite direction to the results for the 4- to 7-year-olds. For example, among the 4- to 7-year-olds, impersonal-cognition correlated +.31 with Social Affect to Black, and -.06 with Social Affect to White. Among the 8- to 11-year-olds, these correlations were -.14 and +.31, respectively. The significance of the differences between the two corresponding correlations of impersonal-cognition and social affect measures for both age groups (4 to 7 and 8 to 11) were substantiated ($p < .05$). The correlation for Self-Reference Group and for General Reference Group with impersonal-cognition were significantly different across the age groups ($p < .05$). However, the two other reference

Table 9

Intercorrelation Matrix, Impersonal Cognition, Social Cognition and Social Affect Measures for 4- to 7-Year-Olds

		A1	B1	B2	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8	C9
Impersonal Cognition	A												
Racial Constancy	B1	.46**											
Racial Classification		.22	.20										
Family Situations	B2												
Social Affect													
Single cue Situation													
Social Affect to Black	C1	.31	.22	.32									
Social Affect to White	C2	-.06	-.16	.07	-.41*								
Contrasting or Forced Choice													
African Racial Reference Group	C3	.13	.35*	.31*	.45*	-.39*							
European Racial Reference Group	C4	.11	.17	.06	.26	-.35	.67***						
Self-Racial Reference Group	C5	.21	.29	.38**	.40*	-.26	.47**	.34*					
General Racial Reference Group	C6	.19	.33*	.32*	.44*	-.40*	.85***	.80***	.78***				
Preschool Racial Attitude Measure	C7	.11	.32*	.48**	.67***	-.24	.17	.12	.45**	.33*			
Color Preference	C8	.06	.29	.22	.65***	-.45*	.47**	.31*	.69***	.62***	.47**		
Racial Evaluations	C9	.14	.17	.10	.24	.09	.36*	.07	.42**	.36*	.12	.48**	
Age	D	.41**	.28	-.00	.33	-.33	.18	.21	.51**	.39*	.25	.33	.41**

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

Table 10

Intercorrelation Matrix, Impersonal Cognition, Social Cognition and Social Affect Measures for 8- to 11-Year Olds

		A1	B1	B2	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8	C9
Impersonal Cognition	A												
Racial Constancy	B1	.33*											
Racial Classification													
Family Situations	B2	.08	.23										
Social Affect - Single Cue													
Social Affect to Black	C1	-.14	-.01	.18									
Social Affect to White	C2	.31	.14	-.11	-.65**								
Social Affect - Contrasting													
African Racial Reference Group	C3	-.16	.01	.36	.06	.10							
European Racial Reference Group	C4	-.20	.11	.26	-.01	.04	.31*						
Self-Racial Reference Group	C5	-.20	.00	.21**	.46*	-.27	.39*	.18					
General Racial Reference Group	C6	-.26	.05	.31*	.24	-.07	.76***	.65***	.77***				
Preschool Racial Attitude Measure	C7	-.04	-.02	.18	.36	.02	.28	-.00	.18	.22			
Color Preference	C8	-.12	.21	-.09	-.27	-.16	-.05	.49**	.03	.21	-.27		
Racial Evaluations	C9	-.05	-.37*	-.06	.38	-.22	-.13	-.04	.37*	.12	.16	.15	
Age	D	.36*	.31*	.04	-.37	.11	.04	.08	-.20	-.12	-.19	.01	-.29

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

group measures and both social affect to single cue measures showed marginal significance ($p < .10$). This evidence indicates that there is a tendency for increased impersonal-cognition scores to be associated with increased pro-African/anti-European (A+/E-_ bias among 4- to 7-year-olds. However, this relationship is reversed among the 8- to 11-year-olds. Here, higher impersonal-cognition scores are associated with a reduction in A+/E- bias.

Among 8- to 11-year-olds, racial constancy correlated with only one social affect measure ($r = -.37$) (Racial Evaluation). This correlation was in the opposite direction to the equivalent correlation at ages 4 to 7 ($r = +.17$). This difference was significant ($p < .05$). Among 4- to 7-year-olds, increased racial constancy score was associated with increased pro- "Black" racial evaluations, while among the 8- to 11-year-olds this situation was reversed.

One social-cognitive variable had a similar relationship within both age groups. In both groups, children for whom race was a salient cue in the selection of greeting cards for family members tended to make more ingroup choices on racial reference group tasks.

There were no other consistent relationships, but, overall, there appeared to be a nonsignificant tendency for social affect scores to decline in their relationships with age from 8- to 11-years.

Interpretations

Earlier we established that impersonal-cognition influenced and developmentally preceded racial constancy. The present results show that these inferences are consistent across our entire age range. However, the relationship between cognition (impersonal and social) and social affect is not. For example, of the 28 4- to 7-year-old children who had no racial constancy, their modal social affect response was that of "no bias" (PRAM II) followed by pro-European/anti-African and then lastly pro-African/anti-European bias. Conversely, of the 12 children who had racial constancy, the modal response was pro-African/anti-European bias. This response pattern suggested that for younger children (4 to 7), expressed racial evaluation and preference is dependent on the level of social-cognitive abilities for racial classification and constancy. Among the 8- to 11-year-olds, the children without racial constancy showed a racial evaluation pattern which was quite similar to the 4- to 7-year-olds who had racial constancy. But the 8- to 11-year-olds with constancy showed the most unbiased response pattern. For example, of the 19 children (8-11) who had constancy, on the Racial Evaluation Measure, two were pro-white, eight pro Black and nine said that both races were the same.

Conclusions

These results indicated that the relationship between cognition and social affect are more complex than was hypothesized. Our hypothesis only stated that "following the establishment of racial classification and constancy, children (were) expected to show consistent ethno-racial preferences." This was so, but only among 4- to 7-year-olds. It appears then, that racial constancy facilitates ingroup racial evaluation and preference in young children (4 to 7), but facilitates a less biased response pattern in older (7 to 11) children. Young children without constancy tend to have more pro-European/anti-African bias (E+/A-) than pro-African/anti-European bias (A+/E-). However, older children even without having constancy, show a reversal of this trend.

Any explanation of the above results without the benefit of longitudinal data is somewhat tentative, but the following can be suggested: by age four or five, children understand that people are categorized into various ethno-racial groups, but they do not yet understand the basis for these groupings. They have some understanding of the group to which they belong, but do not understand the permanence of this classification. They also have problems differentiating between the color black (and white) and the concept "Black" (and "White"). Nonetheless, they are beginning to learn the evaluation and connotations associated with these colors and concepts in the form of sterotypes. At this stage, any expressed ethno-racial evaluation will not be much more than a regurgitation of the input received from the social environment on both the dominant and subcultural levels. The child's ethno-racial evaluations are independent of self-evaluations since self-group interaction is not fully comprehended.

As the child's congitive capabilities change regarding the impersonal world, it also changes for the social world. One crucial change is the acquisition of conservation abilities which facilitate the development of racial constancy. During this time, racial classification skills are also being improved, especially racial classification for self. A better understanding of the interrelation of self and group is also developing. As these events occur, self-evaluation and group evaluations become related, so irrespective of what the dominant culture says his/her group is better than the outgroup. Even children who lack racial constancy, because of their other social cognitive abilities, are able to reach this stage. Most of this development occurs between ages six and nine. However, it should be noted that the achievement of racial constancy facilitates an earlier arrival at this stage.

This egocentric mode of responding does not appear to be permanent. Between eight and 11, impersonal and social cognitive development increases, but now we begin to see a qualitative and quantitative change in social affect to race. Cognitive and (other) experiential factors improve the child's perception of social reality. The child still believes that "Black" is good, but is now either forced or more willing to accept that "white" is also good. If forced to make a choice between the two, (s)he will show increasing uneasiness and refusal to respond in such a manner. The reason for this is not quite clear, but there appears to be an increased capability to consider more than one aspect of a situation simultaneously. When this occurs, there is less room for stereotyping; thus, an increased tendency to acknowledge that (as one 11-year-old did) "you can't say one is better than the other because both races have good people and bad people."

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Patterns of Parent-child Interaction, and Child-rearing Attitudes among Parents of Black Preschool Children

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine the verbal and non-verbal interaction patterns that take place between Black parents and their preschool children. Three types of verbal interaction patterns were observed between the parent and child: nurturant, non-nurturant, and restrictive. In addition we observed the patterns of non-verbal interaction that took place. Finally, we were interested in observing the patterns of decision-making, child-rearing attitudes and expectations of the child among this group of middle income families.

Forty middle income Black families, with preschool children, living in the Baltimore-Washington Metropolitan area were observed interacting with their preschool child. Each father and mother was observed separately, in their own home, interacting with their child. The interviewers were of the same race, sex, and socioeconomic status as the parents. The variables studied were verbal interactions with the child, meeting implicit and explicit needs, motivating behavior, warmth, influencing the behavior setting, restrictiveness toward the child, and the amount of verbal interaction initiated by the child. Non-verbal interaction with the child included positive and negative interactions. In addition we observed the difference in the pattern of decision-making in the family and decision-making regarding child-rearing practices.

Our research hypotheses were that (1) mothers would be significantly more nurturant toward their child than the fathers, (2) middle class fathers would be more authoritative in their child-rearing attitudes and beliefs, (3) Black parents would be found to be more egalitarian in making child-rearing decisions, and (4) parental expectations of a child's behavior would be the same regardless of the sex of the child.

Since this is one of the few empirical studies in the literature exploring differences in interaction patterns between parents and their children, exploring patterns of decision-making and attitudes toward child-rearing, these results may provide us with information regarding family interaction patterns that have wider implications across social classes and to non-blacks.

The purpose of this study was to examine the patterns of interaction that take place between Black mothers and fathers separately with their children and to determine the relationship between nurturance, restirctiveness and the child's self-esteem. The goals of this study were to identify differential parent attitudes toward child rearing, determine the parenting style most used in rewarding and controlling their children, and to determine if any relationship exists between parenting style, IQ and self esteem in children. Finally, our goal was to fill the gaps in the scientific literature regarding the interaction process in Black Families.

This research is part of a larger project which is supported by the National Institute of Mental Health, Grant #1 RO1 MH 25838-01.

Very few studies have focused on parent-child interaction, socialization and coping strategies in Black families. Social scientists have generally studied the structure of the most economically deficient, socially vulnerable, problematic Black family and implied negative interaction patterns from that structural viewpoint. These vulnerable Black families were usually compared to economically stable white middle income families. No studies were found that examined the interaction patterns within middle income Black families.

We needed to determine the degree to which Black parents are nurturant or restrictive in their interaction patterns, to look at the impact of the child's behavior on that interaction, and to begin to develop some ideas about norms of interaction patterns that are likely to occur in Black homes. Once interaction patterns between parents and children are established, we can begin to study the effects of different patterns of interaction on the development of cognitive and social competence in their preschool children. We can also begin to develop methodologies that will help us look at the environmental influences that impact on this interaction pattern.

The conceptual framework for this study grew out of a need to move away from the traditional deficit models of analysis and begin looking at the impact of the total environment on the interaction patterns of the family. The ecological model allows us to study the impact of various dimensions - the setting of the child, the social networks and institutions, and the ideological system on the interaction system of the family. This study focuses upon one aspect of this approach, the setting of the child, and examines the patterns of interaction that take place between each parent and their child.

The present study was an attempt to explore the characteristics of father-mother-child interaction, using the ecological approach to observing parent-child interaction patterns (McAdoo, 1976). It allows us a framework to collect and analyze data by observing parent-child interactions in the natural environment of the home. Several questions were asked: 1) What are the predominant patterns of interaction that take place between middle-class Black parents and their children?; (2) Are there significant differences in the father-mother in the parent-child interaction pattern?; (3) What is the predominant mode of interaction between parent and child: nurturant or restrictive? We observed two types of verbal and nonverbal interactions between parents and their children, nurturance and restrictiveness.

Review of Literature

Parenting styles. Baumrind (1971), Biller (1977), and Radin (1972) each focused on the impact of parent-child interaction on the child. Baumrind focused on types of parenting and its effects on cognitive and moral development, Radin was concerned with its impact on cognitive development, and Biller focused on the impact of paternal nurturance on sex-role formation and cognitive development in the child. No study was found of Black middle class parents interacting with their preschool children.

Baumrind (1971) observed the relationship between three types of parenting styles: authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive, and competence in preschool children. She found that authoritative parents promoted purposive and dominant behavior in boys and girls. Authoritative control was associated with the development of social responsibility in boys and with achievement (but not friendly, cooperative behavior) in girls. Authoritarian child-rearing practices were associated with either markedly high or markedly low overall competence in preschool children of authoritarian parents.

Radin (1972) has also studied patterns of interaction between white middle- and working-class mothers and fathers and their children. She identified three verbal interaction patterns in her group of mothers: nurturant, restrictive, and nonnurturant. She studied the relationship between these patterns of interaction, and the child's cognitive growth one year later. Radin found that children of verbally nurturant mothers did well in school, while children of restrictive mothers did poorly on cognitive tasks in kindergarten.

Most of the observational studies (Radin 1972, 1975; Baumrind 1971) tended to use verbal responses and verbal interaction patterns to measure maternal and paternal warmth and restrictiveness, and no systematic attempt was made to measure these categories on a nonverbal level. There is a great need to look at nonverbal categories of interaction - the tone of voice,amount of physical interaction, the degree of explicit and/or implicit needs of the child that were being met in the interaction process.

In summary, most of the interaction studies between parent and child did not focus on the patterns of interaction but attempted to relate these patterns to cognitive moral or sex role development. They were correlational in nature and did not attempt to look at verbal and nonverbal interactions. While these studies are of great importance, it is suggested that we attempt to get a better understanding of the father-child, mother-child relationship, and an understanding of the parent's attitudes toward the socialization process of their children.

Types of Interaction

Nurturance. Several researchers (Radin, 1972, 1975; Baumrind, 1971) have suggested that maternal warmth (nurturance) facilitates the child's identification with the mother, particularly the female child. Radin (1972) has suggested that paternal nurturance facilitates the male child's identification with him. Identification with either parent should lead to an incorporation of the parent's ideas, attitudes, beliefs, and feelings about the child. The parent communicates to the child a positive acceptance of the child as a person. Nurturance is one of the patterns of interaction that is important in the development of social competence in preschool children.

Nurturance (warmth) is used most by parents who recognize and respond to their child's needs, who communicate acceptance, and who are available for interaction, than do parents who are inaccessible and insensitive. Warmth is seen as a characteristic of both parent roles (Newman, 1978). Newman notes that warmth is usually expressed in praise or approval in nonverbal interactions including patting, touching, stroking, hugging, kissing, and in playful activities. Rohner (1975) suggests that there is evidence that warmth and rejection can be observed across a wide variety of cultural groups.

Restrictiveness. Another important interaction pattern is described as restrictiveness (nonsupport). Parental restrictiveness does not facilitate positive communication and identification (Radin, 1972) between the child and his parent. Restrictive behaviors are those behaviors that are not warm, loving, and supportive of the child. Nonsupporting behaviors are usually in criticism or expressed disapproval, and may also include grabbing, pushing, restraining the child from some event or activity without explanation. It may be viewed as a negative reaction by the parent to the child's attitude, behavior and beliefs. Nonsupport may also lead the parent to handle the symptoms of the problem and not the needs of the child, or to controlling behavior on their part, and the cutting off of the usual patterns of identification and communication of the child. Restrictiveness in the parents could lead the child to develop a negative image of himself and his worth as a human being, as well as having negative feelings about those around him.

Self Concept and Ethnic Identity. Clark (1939, 1952) and others, Goodman (1952), Asher and Allen (1969) have suggested that Black children have low self esteem and negative ethnic identity. Self concept and ethnic identity were assumed to have a linear relationship and as a result of one instrument, the dolls test, Black preschool children were said to hate themselves and their ethnic group.

Recent studies using better methodologies have demonstrated that Black children have a more positive view of themselves (H. McAdoo, 1974) and their ethnic identity (J. McAdoo, 1970; Hraba and Grant, 1970; Fox and Barnes, 1971; Ward and Braum, 1972). Goodman (1952) and others (Horowitz, 1939; Cole, 1967 and Lipscomb, 1975) have stressed the importance of observing parental attitudes as an intervening variable to self esteem and ethnic identity development. However, none of the above authors appeared to have studied the interaction patterns that lead to the development of positive self esteem and ethnic identity in preschool children.

Since Radin's work (1972) is one of the few empirical studies that attempts to observe the father-child interaction patterns in a natural setting, without other family members being present, we have decided to utilize her verbal observation categories with our Black sample. In addition, it was also felt necessary to develop a measure of nonverbal interaction patterns to give us a better handle on the depth of the interaction. Finally, we have decided that self esteem was a more important variable than cognitive growth since the way a child feels about himself and his world may influence his cognitive development.

Our variables were measures of parent-child interaction: 1) verbal nurturance and restrictiveness; 2) the amount of nonverbal interaction; 3) parental attitudes towards child rearing - their perceived strictness, expectations of the child's behavior, how they rewarded or showed approval for child's actions, sex role typing and their involvement in the decision-making process of child rearing, and 4) the child's self esteem.

The hypotheses were: 1) Black parents would be verbally nurturant with their children; 2) there will be a negative relationship between verbal nurturance and restrictiveness; 3) there will be a positive relationship between verbal nurturance and nonverbal interaction; 4) Black children would be more positive in their self esteem; 5) there will be a positive relationship between parental nurturance and the child's self esteem; and 6) there will be a positive relationship between the amount of nonverbal interaction and the child's self esteem.

Method

Sample:

The sample consisted of 40 Black parents and their preschool children, 20 boys and 20 girls. The children's ages were between four and six with the average age of the boys being 5.05 and the average age of the girls 4.65. They lived in a suburban town located within the Baltimore-Washington, D.C., Metropolitan area. This town offered an excellent opportunity to study upper and lower middle-class Blacks who live in the same neighborhood and attend the same schools. The families were randomly selected from a pool of Black families and were located by advertisement in nursery schools, local church bulletins and door-to-door canvassing.

Instruments:

There were five instruments used: (1) the procedure devised by Radin (1972) to collect verbal interaction data; (2) the McAdoo and Teresa (1976) nonverbal interaction scale; (3) the child-rearing attitude questions (Radin, 1972) scale to examine parental attitudes; (4) the modified Thomas Self Concept Measure (H. McAdoo, 1972); and (5) the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (1959).

Radins Verbal Interaction Scale. The Radin Verbal Interaction Scale was designed to measure the frequency and type of verbal interaction that occurs between a parent and his/her child. Interaction was defined as either an action which is initiated by a parent or a parent's reaction to the child's words or behavior. The verbal interactions in this study were tape recorded during the second and third interviews with the family. The second interview occurred with only the father and child present, and the third interview utilized only the mother and child.

After the interviews, two trained coders reviewed the tapes and divided the interaction into four fifteen-minute segments. The two consecutive segments with the most verbal interactions were then scored by the verbal coders. The verbal interaction between a parent and his child was scored according to seven factors: (1) reinforcing; (2) responding to implicit needs; (3) responding to explicit needs; (4) initiating motivating behaviors; (5) expressing warmth; (6) influencing and limit setting; and (7) restrictive behaviors.

Nurturant parental behavior, for example, involved any positive response occurring after a child's behavior such as, saying good or expressing appreciation for the child's doing something; asking a child what he wanted or needed; setting limits for the child's behavior but providing an explanation for those limits - i.e., stop kicking that chiar leg, it's weak and may break. One point was given each time a nurturant unit of interaction occurred during the thirty-minute interval. An example of restrictive verbal interaction would be the parent ordering the child to do something without explanation - sit down, shut up - scolding, name calling, use of sarcasm, yelling, etc. Each time restrictive behavior was observed, the coder added a point to the category.

The total frequency of verbal interaction was found for each parent-child. This total was divided into the nurturance and restrictive scores to obtain proportional nurturance and restrictiveness scores.

Nonverbal interactions. The nonverbal interactions between mother and child were recorded on a timed grid placed after each question on the questionnaire. The interviewer recorded nonverbal interactions at 15-second intervals, a maximum of two minutes per question during the first, middle and last ten questions on the questionnaire. There were five categories of nonverbal behavior: tone of voice, physical touch, meeting implicit needs, meeting explicit needs and no interaction. Within these five categories were measures of degrees, i.e., positive tone of voice, negative tone of voice, and neutral.

Following the interview, the scores on the number of nonverbal interactions were obtained by counting the number of 15-second intervals in which nonverbal interactions occurred between mother and child. A proportional score was obtained by dividing the frequency of interaction by the maximum number of 15-second intervals possible in which nonverbal interaction could have occurred.

Parental attitudes. Parental attitudes toward child-rearing were measured by the parent's responses to questions regarding their perceived strictness to tolerate misbehavior on the part of the child, similarities between their own and their parents' child-rearing practices, expectation of child care provisions in event of death or disability, decision-making in child-rearing, behavior of child that they approve of, manner in which they show approval, and expectation of education for child. These questions were scored for frequency and percentages on the total group's response to the questions.

Thomas Self-Concept Measure. A week following the parent/child interviews, the child was seen alone on two different occasions in the office where he received the Thomas Self-Concept values test (Thomas, 1967) and the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test. The Thomas Self-Concept values test purports to measure the child's self-concept through the use of questions based upon the child's own Polaroid photograph. The child was asked to give his view of himself and then to assume the position of three "significant others" in his life (mother, teacher, peer) and to give his perception of how these people view him. The questions form a core of fourteen bi-polar adjectives, items representing the value on which the child reported his perceptions.

The Thomas items are presented in an "either-or" format, using the child's own name, i.e., "Is David happy or is David sad?", while referring to the child's own picture. The more desirable choice was scored +1. The +1 items across all categories were added together to get a total score of the child's view of himself.

For the purposes of this study, the Thomas test was modified to make the scale more appropriate to contemporary functioning (H. McAdoo, 1976). Thomas' original test did not include the father as a key reference person and we felt that he should be included. In addition, the Thomas asked "how the child liked to be with men" and did not ask a comparable question about women. Therefore, this question was also added.

We then proceeded to restandardize the Thomas scores using the added reference groups. We had collected data from 100 Black preschool children in the metropolitan Washington, D.C. area upon which the data was analyzed and standardized scores were developed. This was felt to be preferable to using the original Thomas pool of over 300 Grand Rapids, Michigan, samples collected from Head Start Centers in the 1960's. These new standardized scores are the ones now being used.

Method of Data Collection

There were a total of five interviews. The first interview was with the entire family to explain the project, to gain the parent's consent to participate in the project with their child, to obtain some socio-economic background data, and to help the child and his parents feel relaxes around the interviewers. In the second interview, only the father and child were present during the hour and a half session. In the third interview, only the mother and child were present. At the end of each session the child was given a puzzle to complete. In the fourth and fifth interviews, the child was seen alone in the office where he was interviewed regarding his feelings about himself.

Each parent's responses to the second and third interview questions were recorded on a cassette tape in order to allow the interviewers the opportunity to code the nonverbal interactions that occurred between the parent and child during the interview. The crucial point of the child's presence during the interview was to set up a situation in which the child's activity would force the parent to respond to his needs or behavior and we could then observe that response pattern over three different points during the interview.

Four Black male and female interviewers were trained to do the interviewing over a four-week period using role-playing techniques and video cassettes. Emphasis was placed upon probing techniques to open-ended questions and an accurate coding of nonverbal behavior. The interviewers achieved an average of .85 reliability score. Each interviewer interviewer parents of the same sex in order for us to control for race and sex of the interviewers. Two verbal coders were also trained over a four week period using tape recordings from Radins (1972) project and tapes developed in the pretesting phase of this project. The average inter-coder reliability of the verbal coders was .92.

Results

Verbal Interactions

Hypothesis one was supported, for the predominant verbal interaction style was that of nurturance for both parents. When all of the factors were collapsed, 72% of the mothers' and 76% of the fathers' verbal interactions were of a nurturant nature. Both mothers and fathers were nurturant with both girls and boys. While both were nurturant, the mother interacted many more times with their children than the fathers. Mothers interacted at the mean rate of 47.15 times, but the fathers only a mean of 33.60 times. No sex differences were found.

No significant differences were found in types of interaction due to the sex of the child (see Table 1).

Hypothesis two was supported; parents were clearly either nurturant or restrictive as a rule. Restrictiveness was demonstrated in only 27% of the fathers' interaction and 25% of the mothers' interaction, a non-significant difference. No significant differences were observed in the frequency of child interaction behavior with the mothers and fathers.

Non-verbal Interactions

Codings of non-verbal parental behaviors were made at predetermined points during the interview. In each case coding continued at 15-second intervals until interaction ceased. Fathers demonstrated significantly more non-verbal behavior than the mothers ($t(38) = 7.42$, $p < .001$) to both

Table 1

Mean, Standard Deviation, and t-Test of Verbal Interaction of Black Parents Individually by Sex of Preschool Children

		M	SD	t	df	p
Verbal Interaction						
Nurturant	Mother	.73	.20			
	Girls	.75	.18	.48	38	ns
	Boys	.72	.23			
	Father	.76	.20			
	Girls	.75	.22	.29	38	ns
	Boys	.77	.17			
Restrictive	Mother	.27	.20			
	Girls	.25	.18	.48	38	ns
	Boys	.28	.23			
	Father	.25	.20			
	Girls	.25	.22	.02	38	ns
	Boys	.26	.18			
Child Initiates	Mother	.34	.21			
	Girls	.33	.23	.44	38	ns
	Boys	.36	.19			
	Father	.31	.21			
	Girls	.31	.20	.16	38	ns
	Boys	.30	.22			
Total Frequency of Interaction	Mother	47.15	26.81			
	Girls	51.60	28.46	1.05	38	ns
	Boys	42.70	24.99			
	Father	33.60	22.99			
	Girls	27.40	21.17	1.75	38	ns
	Boys	39.80	23.59			
	Boys N=20 Girls N=20					

girls and boys. However, both parents had proportionally more 15-second intervals during which no interaction occurred (.76 for both parents) than those in which interactions were found (fathers .30, mothers .26). In other words, no nonverbal interactions occurred during approximately two-thirds of the coded time segments.

When nonverbal interactions did take place, the mother had significantly more positive interactions than the father ($t(39) = 2.22$, $p < .03$). No other differences were found in the type of nonverbal interaction (see Table 2).

Verbal and Non-verbal Interaction Relationship

Responses of both parents were inter-correlated on verbal and non-verbal behaviors. Children in nurturant homes received it from both parents. Fathers' nurturance was positively related to mothers' nurturance ($r(38) = .313$, $p < .05$). In addition, when one parent was high in restrictiveness, the other tended also to be verbally restrictive ($r(38) = .376$, $p < .01$). Fathers high in verbal restrictiveness had wives who were low in nurturance

Table 2

Mean, Standard Deviation, and t-Test of Nonverbal Interaction of Black Parents by Sex of Child

	Parent	Sex of Child	M	SD	t	df	p
Nonverbal Interactions							
Number of 15 sec. intervals with interactions	Mother		83.21	29.49	7.42	38	.0001
	Father		133.90	34.39			
	Mother:	Girls	78.75	31.67			
		Boys	87.89	27.06			
	Father:	Girls	129.55	33.83			
		Boys	138.25	35.27			
Interaction Ratio	Mother		.30	.22	0.68	39	ns
	Father		.26	.16			
	Mother:	Girls	.24	.16			
		Boys	.35	.26			
	Father:	Girls	.32	.18			
		Boys	.21	.11			
Non-interaction Ratio	Mother		.76	.18	0.00	39	ns
	Father		.76	.13			
	Mother:	Girls	.77	.17			
		Boys	.75	.20			
	Father:	Girls	.72	.14			
		Boys	.80	.10			
Positive Ratio	Mother		.09	.04	2.22	39	.03
	Father		.03	.20			
	Mother:	Girls	.04	.04			
		Boys	.15	.30			
	Father:	Girls	.02	.02			
		Boys	.03	.05			
Negative Ratio	Mother		.05	.16	1.31	39	ns
	Father		.02	.03			
	Mother:	Girls	.03	.05			
		Boys	.07	.22			
	Father:	Girls	.02	.04			
		Boys	.02	.02			

(r(38) = -.376, $p < .01$). Therefore, based on our observations, children were unable to find a buffer in the other parent if one was restrictive (see Table 3).

Hypothesis three: the expected positive relationship between verbal nurturance and nonverbal interaction was not supported for nurturant behavior in verbal and nonverbal interactions. It was supported in the negative relationship between fathers' verbal nurturance and mothers' negative nonverbal responses (r(38) = 0.455, $p < .001$).

Interesting results were obtained when the interactions that were initiated by the child were examined. Children who had a high proportion

Table 3

Intercorrelations of Black Parents' Verbal and Nonverbal Interactions

	Fathers:Verbal			Nonverbal		Mothers:Verbal			Nonverbal
	Nurt.	Restr.	Ch. I	Pos.	Neg.	Nurt.	Restr.	Ch.I.	Pos.
Fathers									
Verbal									
Nurturant									
Restrictive	-.950***								
Child Initiates	-.633***	.571***							
Nonverbal									
Positive	-.010	.033	.115						
Negative	-.455**	.477***	.060	.160					
Mothers									
Verbal									
Nurturant	.313*	-.376**	-.154	.070	.008				
Restrictive	-.313*	.376**	.154	.085	-.07	-1.00***			
Child Initiates	.031	.015	.138	.101	.312*	-.598***	.598***		
Nonverbal									
Positive	.165	-.180	.027	.206	.021	.206	-.206	-.067	
Negative	.100	-.113	.003	-.127	-.079	.121	-.121	-.057	.704***

N=40

* = .05
** = .01
*** = .001

of initiations had fathers who were highly verbally restrictive ($r(38) = .571$, $p < .001$), and also more restrictive on a non-verbal level ($r(38) = .477$, $p < .001$). These same children had mothers who were also verbally restrictive ($r(38) = .598$, $p < .001$). The overall picture is that of parents who do not encourage their preschool children to be verbally free in initiating interactions. A spontaneous child was responded to with restrictive, limit setting verbal and non-verbal parental responses, at least in the presence of the interviewer. Both parents did not meet their child's implicit or explicit needs, nor were they warm to these children who initiated interactions.

Self Concept

Hypothesis four, on the expected positive self-esteem of the children, was supported. The childran had a mean self concept score of 51.15, a score considered by Thomas (1967) as a positive, average self concept (see Table 4). The boys (M = 53.90) had a higher self concept than the girls (M = 48.40).

The children also reported that they felt significant others in their lives perceived them in a positive manner.

I.Q.

Both girls (M = 111.68) and boys (M = 110.25) had PPVTIQ scores at the high average ability level. Unlike many earlier studies, when SES was controlled, no apparent IQ racial differences were found. When these middle class Black children were further divided into upper-middle class (M = 110.12) and lower-middle class (M = 111.05) no significant IQ difference was found.

Table 4

Mean, Standard Deviation of Age, Self Concept Total and Reference Scores, and PPVT IQ of Black Preschool Children

Variable	Boys		Girls		Total	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Age	5.05	0.76	4.65	0.67	4.85	.74
Self Concept Total	53.90	8.56	48.40	14.37	51.15	12.00
Self	57.10	5.83	48.40	11.48	52.75	10.00
Mother	54.50	7.27	49.30	15.66	51.90	12.34
Father	54.20	5.84	50.75	13.22	52.48	10.24
Teacher	53.20	8.52	49.75	12.12	51.48	10.49
Peer	49.70	14.31	46.45	15.03	48.08	14.58
PPVT IQ	110.25	15.71	111.68	14.90	110.95	15.13
N	20		20		40	

Relationship of Interactions and Child Data

Self Concept Hypothesis five, that there would be a positive relationship between parental nurturance and the child's self esteem, was not supported by the fathers' data, but was supported by the mothers' data. The father's interaction seemed to have little impact on the children's view of themselves or as significant others saw them (see Table 5).

However, the mothers' type of verbal, but not non-verbal behaviors, were significantly related to how the child viewed himself. This difference may be the result of the higher frequency of interaction the mothers were observed demonstrating. Total self esteem was related ($r(38) = .306$, $p < .05$) to mother's nurturance, as was the mother reference self-concept score ($r(38) = .354$, $p < .01$), father reference ($r(38) = .354$, $p < .01$), and teacher as reference ($r(38) = .281$, $p < .05$). The child's sense of self worth appeared to be supported by frequent nurturant behavior of the mother.

Again, the children who initiated verbal interactions did not fare as well with the mother. These children who initiated interaction had significantly lower total SC ($r(38) = -.475$, $p < .001$). In addition, they had lower SC reference scores on mother ($r(38) = -.453$, $p < .01$), father ($r(38) = -.502$, $p < .001$), teacher ($r(38) = -.407$, $p < .01$) and peers ($r(38) = -.414$, $p < .001$). These children, initiating interaction for attention, did not appear from our limited operations to be excessively bothersome or hyperactive. Yet interaction patterns apparently have contributed to a negative self-image. No father relations were found on this variable.

IQ. The children with the higher IQ had mothers who were nurturant ($r(38) = .408$, $p < .01$) and themselves did not initiate interaction very much ($r(38) = -.321$, $p < .05$) with the parent.

Child-rearing Attitudes

Decision-making. The predominant pattern of decision-making around child-rearing appeared to be egalitarian in a majority of the families. Almost two-thirds of the parents (65 percent) reported that they were both involved in the decisions regarding the children.

Table 5

Correlation of Black Parents' Verbal and Nonverbal Interaction and their Preschool Child's Self Concept Scores and IQ

	Self Concept Total	Self	Mother	Father	Teacher	Peer	IQ
		Reference Scores					
Fathers							
Verbal							
Nurturant	-.032	-.122	-.055	-.032	.010	-.059	.014
Restrictive	.085	.180	.099	.073	-.053	.099	-.009
Child Initiates	.063	.183	.157	.043	.029	-.040	.144
Nonverbal							
Positive	.046	.074	-.014	.064	-.012	.127	-.043
Negative	.149	.076	.146	.133	.044	.196	-.155
Mothers							
Verbal							
Nurturant	.306*	.049	.354**	.354**	.281*	.225	.408**
Restrictive	-.306*	-.049	-.354**	-.354**	-.281*	-.225	-.408**
Child Initiates	-.475***	-.197	-.453**	-.502***	-.407**	-.404**	-.321*
Nonverbal							
Positive	.202	.161	.153	.126	.187	.202	.205
Negative	.020	-.002	-.014	-.014	.047	.056	.153

N=40

* = .05
** = .01
*** = .001

Twenty-four percent of both parents felt that the mothers made the major child-rearing decisions. Only 11 percent of the families felt that the father was the major decision-maker. No significant differences were found in fathers' and mothers' responses to this question (see Table 6).

Approved behavior. The majority of the sample (55 percent) felt they approved most of the child's independent assertive behavior, while 16 percent felt that they approved of good behavior on the child's part, and another 14 percent of the parents approved everything the child does. A few parents indicated that they approved their child doing household chores (5 percent) and maintaining personal hygiene (5 percent). Four percent of the parents approved of the affectionate behavior of their child. No significant differences were found in the parents' responses to this question.

Rewarding approved behavior. About two-thirds (68 percent) of the parents responded that they would tell the child they approved. One-fourth of the parents who responded to this question stated that they would show approval by smiling, hugging, patting and kissing their child. A few responders stated that they would allow whatever action that was happening to occur (4 percent), while a few others (4 percent) admitted that they did not show approval. No significant differences in the fathers' and mothers' response was found to this question.

Perceived strictness. Seventy-four percent of all respondents felt that they were from moderate to very strict with their children. Seventeen percent responded that they were very strict, and 57 percent claimed that

Table 6

Frequency and Percentage Scores on Black Parents' Responses to Questions Relating to Decisions in Child-rearing, Child's Needs coming before their own, Things Child Does that they Approve of, How they Show Approval, Expected Amount of Education for their Child and whether they are rearing their Child Differently from their Parents

	Father		Mother		Total Sample	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Who makes the major child-rearing decisions?						
Father	4	(19)	4	(10)	8	(11)
Mother	7	(11)	11	(30)	18	(24)
Both	26	(70)	22	(60)	48	(65)
Total	37		37		74	
Does child's needs come first?						
Yes	28	(82)	14	(41)	42	(62)
No	4	(12)	5	(15)	9	(13)
Sometimes	2	(6)	15	(44)	17	(25)
Total	34		34		68	
What things child does that you approve of?						
Good behavior	7	(19)	5	(14)	12	(16)
Independent/assertive behavior	20	(54)	21	(57)	41	(55)
Household chores	1	(3)	3	(8)	4	(5)
Personal hygiene	3	(8)	1	(3)	4	(5)
Being affectionate	1	(3)	2	(5)	3	(4)
Everything	5	(14)	5	(14)	10	(44)
Total	37		37		74	
How do you show approval?						
Tell the child	25	(66)	27	(71)	52	(68)
Smiling, hugging them, etc.	9	(24)	11	(29)	20	(26)
Allowing action to occur	2	(5)	0		2	(3)
Does not show approval	2	(5)	0		2	(3)
Total	38		38		76	
How much education do you expect your child to receive?						
Graduate or professional training	6	(18)	7	(21)	13	(20)
College graduate	18	(55)	22	(67)	40	(61)
Partial college	3	(9)	1	(3)	4	(6)
High school graduate	6	(18)	3	(9)	9	(13)
Total	33		33		66	
Are you raising your child as you were raised?						
Yes	5	(13)	1	(3)	6	(8)
No	32	(84)	35	(92)	67	(88)
Partially	1	(3)	2	(5)	3	(4)
Total	38		38		76	

they were moderately strict. Twenty-seven percent of the total sample did not feel they were strict at all. There was no difference in fathers' and mothers' response patterns (see Table 7).

Expected obedience and disorderly behavior. One-half of the parents (54 percent) expected prompt obedience from their child. Almost one-third (31 percent) of the parents felt that their child should obey but not right away. Thirteen percent of the parents felt that whether or not the child should obey depended on the situation. Almost half of the total sample (49 percent) claimed that they would not allow the child to misbehave. Almost one-fourth of all (26 percent) of those who responded felt that they would allow very little disorderly behavior. Slightly more than one-fourth of the sample (22 percent) felt that they would allow some misbehavior to occur, and less than 10 percent (7 percent) would allow a lot of misbehavior to occur. No significant differences were found in fathers' and mothers' response to this question (see Table 7).

Table 7

Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Fathers' and Mothers' Responses to Questions related to their Perceived Strictness, Expectation of the Child to Obey, Amount of Disorderly Behavior allowed in Home and Problems of Temper Display of their Child

	Father		Mother		Total Sample	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Should child obey right away?						
Child should obey immediately	21	(54)	23	(59)	44	(56)
Obey but need not be immediately	10	(26)	14	(36)	24	(31)
Depends on situation	8	(20)	2	(5)	10	(13)
	39		39		78	
How much disorderly behavior allowed?						
A great deal	1	(3)	4	(11)	5	(7)
Some	7	(19)	9	(24)	16	(22)
Very little	10	(27)	9	(24)	19	(26)
None	19	(51)	15	(41)	34	(46)
	37		37		74	
How much problem with child's temper display?						
No problem	14	(37)	6	(16)	20	(26)
Slight problem	19	(50)	22	(58)	41	(54)
Some problem	1	(3)	5	(13)	6	(8)
A big problem	4	(11)	5	(13)	9	(12)
	38		38		76	
How strict are you?						
Very strict	6	(16)	6	(16)	12	(17)
Moderately strict	19	(51)	22	(60)	41	(57)
Not strict at all	10	(27)	9	(24)	19	(27)
	35		37		72	

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to determine the patterns of interaction that take place between Black middle-income parents and their children and to determine the relationship between parental interaction patterns and the child's self-esteem. We found that the majority of both parents were verbally nurturant, warm and loving towards their children. This finding was consistent with the white parents in the Radin's (1972, 1975) findings. While the fathers interacted more non-verbally, the mothers were found to be more positive in their non-verbal interactions than the fathers in this sample. Many fathers did not seem to be able to be physically warm and loving towards their children in the presence of outsiders.

The majority of the parents resembled Baumrind's (1972) description of the authoritative parent. They were warm and loving yet saw themselves as being firm in the controlling of and setting of expectations for the child's behavior. They tended to have children with high IQ and self-esteem scores. Their children as a group felt that relevant others valued them highly and did not feel the need to initiate much interaction with their parents. These children, for the most part, were content to sit and observe the interactions between the interviewer and their parents or play quietly with toys or other things in the room.

Almost one-third of the parents interviewed resembled Baumrind's description of the authoritarian parent. The fathers were restrictive in their verbal interactions and the mothers were restrictive in their non-verbal interactions. They saw themselves as being strict and expecting immediate obedience. During the interviews, the children initiated more verbal interaction which in turn elicited more negative responses from the parents. These children tended to have lower IQ and self-esteem scores and they did not feel that their peers valued them as highly as the children of more nurturant parents.

One surprising finding was the fact that children of restrictive parents initiated more interaction than children of more nurturant parents. One possible explanation of this is that the brighter child is more able to read parental cues to keep quiet during the interview and does so. The less bright child is not able to read the verbal and non-verbal cues of his parents, therefore forcing the parents to use more overtly negative behavior to control the child's behavior. The end result may be that the brighter child is positively reinforced for his behavior by his parents and relevant others. Therefore, he felt good about himself, while his less bright counterpart felt less positive about himself,probably,because of how he perceived parental attitudes toward himself.

The children in this sample generally had high average IQ and self-esteem scores. The boys' self-esteem scores were more positive than the girls. This finding was similar to McAdoos (1976) findings among Black preschool children in Michigan, Mississippi and Washington, D.C.

Finally, while no attempt is made here to generalize these findings to all middle-income families, the results are suggestive of a need for further research into the role that nurturance and restrictiveness play in the development of positive self-esteem in preschool children. We need to get a better understanding of the role the child plays in that process. We need to develop methods of observing parents and their children interacting as a family unit.

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RACE/CLASS DIFFERENCES IN THE SUSCEPTIBILITY TO HELPLESSNESS

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Abstract

The hypothesis is investigated that unproportional experience with uncontrollable situations for black and lower class individuals leads to an increased susceptibility to the poorer cognitive peformance indicative of helplessness. Black and white lower and middle-class second and tenth graders were given no problems, solvable diagraph problems, and unsolvable diagraph problems, and then tested on a solvable Block Design Task. Performance on the Block Design Task indicated that exposure to the unsolvable task resulted in poor cognitive performance compared to exposure to the solvable task or no task. More importantly, black and lower class students were more susceptible to the poorer cognitive performance resulting from exposure to the unsolvable task. These results, analyzed in a helplessness framework, are discussed in terms of the social conditions which result in more experience with uncontrollability for black and lower-class individuals. The results are interpreted as suggesting that cognitive differences between blacks and whites may be better explained as resulting from an environmentally caused, and therefore learned, susceptibility to helplessness as opposed to genetic differences. Lastly, intervention procedures are suggested.

Introduction

A great deal of research has been done on behavioral (implying overt score differences rather than differences in underlying processes) differences between black vs. white and lower-class vs. middle-class populations in the areas of self-perception (Crandall, et al., 1962; Katz, Cole, and Baron, 1976; Porter, 1974, 1976), achievement orientation (Alexander, Eckland, and Griffin, 1973, Debord, 1977; Portes and Wilson, 1976), and feelings toward and experience with personal control (Battle and Rotter, 1963; Lefcourt and Ladwig, 1965a, b, 1966; Strickland, 1965). The related and relatively new concept of helplessness (Abramson, Seligman, Teasdale, 1978; Brown and Inouye, 1978; Costello, 1978; Hiroto, 1974; Maer and Seligman, 1976; Seligman, 1975; Ostrove, 1978) may be important in explaining these differences (Lefcourt and Ladwig, 1965a,b, 1966; Seligman, 1975). These two bodies of research suggest that there may be ethnic and class differences in the predisposition toward helplessness. The purpose of this research is to empirically investigate racial and class differences in the predisposition toward helplessness in children and adolescents. The present study will examine such differences between blacks and whites, and lower and middle-class subjects. Also this research will focus on the cognitive interference purported to be an aspect of helplessness (Benson and Kennelly, 1976; Hiroto and Seligman, 1975; Klein and Seligman, 1976). Specifically, the study will address the cognitive interference of helplessness resulting from exposure to an unsolvable cognitive task.

Theoretical Perspective

A review of relevant research leads to several conclusions. First, there is evidence of differential experiences with controllability (Haryou, 1963; King, 1967; Coles, 1976; Staples, 1978), and differential attitudes toward uncontrollability (Battle and Rotter, 1963; Lefcourt and Ladwig, 1963a,b) within the black vs. white and lower vs. middle

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middle-class communities. This leads to the hypothesis that black vs. white and lower vs. middle-class individuals will have different expectations concerning controllability and therefore react differently to uncontrollable situations. The evidence (Coles, 1967; Cottles, 1974) suggests that blacks and lower-class individuals have experienced more uncontrollability. Blacks and lower-class individuals should therefore be more predisposed to helplessness. This predisposition toward helplessness should be exhibited in poorer cognitive performance, since this is one of the effects of uncontrollability (Lao, 1970; Burbach and Wagner, 1971). Evidence also indicates that unsolvability is a subset of controllability and that cognitive unsolvability does result in poor performance or cognitive tasks (Hiroto and Seligman, 1975). Blacks and lower class individuals should exhibit a poorer performance on cognitive tasks after exposure to unsolvable cognitive tasks than their white and middle-class counterparts. Almost all of the I-E literature surrounding race and class differences has been centered in an academic setting (Burbach and Wagner, 1971; Lao, 1970) or related to academic areas (Battle and Rotter, 1963; Coleman, et al., 1966). Much of the evidence of differential experience with control (Rist, 1970; Scott and Phelan, 1969; Rosenthal, 1973; Siberman, 1970) and differential attitudes about control (Katz, 1967; Mingione, 1965; Rosen, 1959) between racial and class groups has been in the area of academics and achievement. Evidence indicates that individuals can discriminate between cues which previously have and have not been associated with uncontrollability (Dweck and Repucci, 1973). Further individuals will differentially display the behavior related to helplessness based upon their perceptions of such cues, that is whether these cues indicate control or lack of control. An academic setting should, therefore, be conducive to demonstrating differential cognitive performance due to helplessness by the two race and class groupings.

Evidence of race and class differences on Internality-Externality has been substantial (Battle and Rotter, 1963; Franklin, 1963; Lefcourt and Ladwig, 1963a,b; Strodbeck, et al., 1959). Such differences should also be found in this study. These differences may be important in predicting differences in the predisposition toward helplessness.

Purpose

The initial purpose of the present study is to replicate previous research which indicated that exposure to unsolvable problems results in poorer cognitive performance than does exposure to solvable problems. Secondly, this study will investigate race and class differences in susceptibility to helplessness and resultant poor cognitive performance after exposure to an unsolvable task. The author will also examine the developmental changes in any racial or class differences in susceptibility to poorer cognitive performance due to exposure to an unsolvable task.

Hypotheses

The general hypotheses are that exposure to unsolvable problems as opposed to no problems or solvable problems will result in poorer cognitive performance; that black and lower class children will exhibit greater susceptibility to poorer cognitive performance after exposure to unsolvable problems as opposed to no problems or solvable problems, and that the greater susceptibility to poorer cognitive performance after exposure to unsolvable problems of black and lower class children will increase with age. Specifically, we hypothesized:

1) Subjects exposed to unsolvable problems will perform less well on the Test Task than will subjects exposed to no problems or solvable problems.

2) Black students will show a greater susceptibility to poorer cognitive performance after exposure to unsolvable problems than white students, as measured by the score on the Test Task.

3) Lower class students will show a greater susceptibility to poorer cognitive performance after exposure to unsolvable problems than middle-class, as measured by the score on the Test Task.

4) Black students will show a greater susceptibility to poorer cognitive performance, after exposure to an unsolvable task, as compared to white students in the tenth grade, than they will in the second grade, as measured by the score on the Test Task.

5) Lower class students will show an even greater susceptibility to poorer cognitive performance, after exposure to an unsolvable task, as compared to middle-class students in the tenth grade, than they will in the second grade, as measured by the score on the Test Task.

Method

Subjects

The subjects were second and tenth grade male students from the Philadelphia area public schools. Each grade group consisted of 96 subjects, sub-divided into four ethno-socio-economic categories (middle-class whites (MCW), middle-class blacks (MCB), lower-class whites (LCW), and lower-class blacks (LCB), with each category having 24 subjects each. The socio-economic status of the subjects were determined by the Warner Scale (Warner, Meeker and Eels, 1956). The mean ages of the subjects were 7.7 (2nd grade) and 15.5 (10th grade). Each ethno-socio-economic category was divided into three research conditions, containing eight subjects. There was a total of 192 subjects (see Tables 1 and 2).

Instruments

For determination of independent variables and matching

a) Warner Scale of Social Status:

This scale (W.L. Warner, M. Meeker, and K. Eels, 1956) yields a combined score for SES based on parents' occupation, parents' education, types of housing, condition of housing and type of neighborhood. If one or two components of the information is missing, the SES can still be measured by changing the weight assigned each components. Since all of this information could not be obtained through the available information sources, certain adaptations were made. Parents' income was obtained from the 1970 Philadelphia Census Block Data using the address of the subject. Parents' education was obtained from the 1970 Philadelphia Census Tract Data. Using the address of the subjects, the particular Census Trace and block of that Census Tract in which the child lived was obtained. The median income for that block for that ethnic group was assigned as income for that child's parents. In the case of education, the median education for the entire Census Tract for that ethnic group was assigned as the education for that child's parents. This was because block data for education is not available. The approximate population of a tract is 4,000 people, while the approximate population for a block within a tract is from 0 to 2,500. The type of neighborhood was obtained through experimenter observation. Since each house could not be evaluated, housing value was also obtained from 1970 Philadelphia Census Block Data in the same manner as for income. In this case the weights were as follows: 4 X Occupation, 3 X Income, 3 X Housing Value, 2 X Neighborhood, and 1 X Education. The weights were determined based on accuracy of data. The scoring determination for occupation, education, and neighborhood was based on the ratings designated in the Warner Scale. For housing value and income, the ratings were revised based upon Census Data (City of Philadelphia, 1970).

Table 1

General Subject Design*

Grade			
2nd Grade		10th Grade	
Class	Race	Class	Race
Lower 16	Black 8 White 8	Lower 16	Black 8 White 8
Middle 16	Black 8 White 8	Middle 16	Black 8 White 8
Lower 16	Black 8 White 8	Lower 16	Black 8 White 8
Middle 16	Black 8 White 8	Middle 16	Black 8 White 8
Lower 16	Black 8 White 8	Lower 16	Black 8 White 8
Middle 16	Black 8 White 8	Middle 16	Black 8 White 8

*Numbers indicate number of subjects in each group

Table 2

General Procedural Design

Group	Day 1 Preliminary Evaluation	Day 2 Pretreatment and Testing
Unsolvable	1. Norwicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scale for Children	Unsolvable Diagraph Task
	2. SES Information	Block Design Task
	3. Rotter's Children's Picture Test of I-E Control	Solvable Diagraph Task
	4. Raven Matrixes	
Solvable	Same as above	Solvable Diagraph Task Block Design Task
Comparison	Same as above	Exposure to experimenter performing the Solvable Diagraph Task Block Design Task

b) Information Letter and Consent Form:

Each parent was sent a consent form to sign, as well as a letter explaining briefly the experiment.

c) IQ Instrument:

The Raven Standard Progressive Matrices originated by J.C. Raven (1936) is a test of a person's ability to understand patterned matrices presented for his observation. It requires that the individual perceive the relationship between the figures and comprehend how to complete each system of relations as well as the figures themselves. It can be used for all ages and each set is progressively difficult. The test can be individually administered and requires about thirty minutes. The test consists of 60 items divided into five sets.

d) Diagraph Problems:

Diagraph problems are a type of task used by psychologists to investigate cognitive development (Osherson, 1976). The task consists of replacing a set of N items one at a time. The purpose of the replacement is to go from one permutation or combination of N items to another permutation or combination. The subject is required to accomplish this transition with the smallest possible number of replacements. Variations in the difficulty of the task are accomplished by changing the number of items in the set or by restricting the conditions for replacement (e.g., an item can only be replaced by an item just like the item in the position to the left of the item just removed).

In the present research the number of items in the set is three. The set is composed of one of the possible combinations or permutations of circles, triangles or squares. The subject was presented with one of the possible combinations or permutations of circles, triangles or squares (e.g.,○△△) and was subsequently presented with a card with another possible combination or permutation (e.g., ○○○). The subject was then asked to replace the items in the first set, one by one, until the set on the card is achieved. The subject is restricted in his replacement by a specific rule (e.g., an item can only be replaced by an item just like the item in the position to the left of the item just removed), and the number of replacements he is allowed (e.g., two), (see Appendices A and B for specific problems). For the tenth and second grade solvable group, there are five practice problems and ten test problems which are all solvable in three and two steps respectively. For the tenth and second grade unsolvable group there are five practice problems which are solvable in three and two steps respectively and ten training problems which are not solvable in the three or two steps allotted.

For determination of dependent variables

a) Block Design Problems:

The idea of using Block Design Problems was taken from Dweck (1976). This task was chosen because it was nonverbal and therefore would not be biased against subjects with language or reading difficulties. It was also chosen because it could be made more or less complex and, because of this, it was suitable to different age levels.

For the second and tenth grade, the Block Design Task consists of constructing designs with dubes which are red on two sides, white on two sides, and red and white on two sides. Some of the designs were taken from the Weschler Adult Intelligence Scale (Weschler, 1958) or Weschler Intelligence Scale for Children (Weschler, 1958). Others were variations developed by the author after a pilot study (see Appendix C).

Procedure

Session 1: Preliminary Measurement

During the first meeting, each subject was given the Raven Standard Professive Matrices. At this time, the information necessary to compute the SES was also obtained from the subjects. The subjects were tested individually, in small, quiet rooms with only the assistant researcher administering these tests. Since a rating of 4 was the average on all five categories of the Warner Scale of Social Status, the cut-off point of socio-economic status was designated as 4.50. Those subjects whose SES score was above 4.50 were designated middle-class.

After the subjects of each race within each grade were divided into lower-class and middle-class their Raven Matrices scores were examined to locate triads with the same Raven Matrices score plus or minus one point. After eight such triads were located for one racial group of the same class and grade, an effort was made to locate triads with similar Raven Matrices scores for other racial groups of the same class. The two lower-class octets of triads in each group, although of different ethnicity, had mean Raven Matrices scores which did not differ significantly as was the case with the two middle-class octets of triads in each grade group. For example, the subjects in the lower-class black solvable second grade group had counterparts with Raven Matrices scores which did not differ significantly with similar SES, and ethnic backgrounds in the lower-class black unsolvable second grade group, and lower-class black comparison second grade group. Each member of these three groups had counterprats with Raven Matrices scores which did not differ significantly and similar SES in their matching white group (lower-class white solvable second grade group, lower-class white unsolvable second grade group, and lower-class white comparison second grade group).

Session 2, Part 1: Experimental Manipulation

Diagraph Task, Second Grade Solvable and Unsolvable Groups

On the day of the experiment, each subject was brought into the experimental room and introduced to the primary experimenter by the assistant researcher. Each subject was tested individually with only the primary experimenter present. The experimenter then gave the following instructions to the subjects in the solvable and unsolvable groups of the second grade: "Hi, I'm playing a game, do you want to play? O.K., now this is the board (○△△), and these are the pieces (△△, ○○, □□), and these pieces want to get in line. Do you ever line up with your class? Well, these pieces are lining up to go outside, and they all want to go outside, so they all want to line up. This is the front of the line (△), so he's first (△), he's second (△), and he's third (○). Only three pieces can line up at one time and we have to help them line up the way the teacher says to line up or else they can't go outside. Now, three of them line up like this (○△△). Then the teacher said, 'These three pieces line u (○○○).' Now, that's wrong (○△△), so we have to help them line up right, like this (○○○). But there's one rule, do you have any brothers and sisters? Well, these (○○) are the brothers and sisters for this piece (○), these (△△△) are the brothers and sisters for this piece (△), and these (□□□) are the brothers and sisters for this piece (□). The rule says that we can only put one of these lines (○○, △△, □□), if we put them in front of their brother or sister, so we have to think hard about which piece to trade first, because we have to trade some of these pieces (○○, △△, □□), for some of these pieces (○△△), so that the line looks like this (○○○), and if we move the wrong one first, we can't go outside."

The experimenter then went through an example of trading the wrong piece first, explaining why it's wrong in relation to the plot. The experimenter then set up another example and asked, "Now, which ones do we have to trade? And which one should be trade first?"

"Follow the instructions," the experimenter said, to all second grade subjects, "and you will get a chip." The experimenter showed the subject a chip that could be traded for certain toys and gifts. The subject was next taken to a display table. The experimenter then said, "Each toy or gift costs a different number of chips. To get this comb you need five chips." (The subjects were allowed to keep the things they earned. There were toys and gifts of enough variety to assure appeal to all subjects involved.) The experimenter then said, "Let us try a few turns to see how you can get the chips." Each subject was then given five practice trials. During the practice trials the subjects were shown the correct solution if they had not solved the problem within the 30 second time limit.

Immediately after the practice trials, the solvable and unsolvable groups were given ten test problems. Correct solutions were not given if the subject failed. The pieces were placed in front of the subject. The subjects in the solvable groups had problems which could be solved by the rules of the task. The subjects in the unsolvable groups had problems which could not be solved by the rules of the task. The problems were presented to all subjects in the same grade group in the same order, which was randomly determined by assigning each problem a number and then determining the random order of those numbers.

Diagraph Task, Tenth Grade Solvable and Unsolvable Groups

To the solvable and unsolvable group of the tenth grade, the experimenter said, "There is a task that I would like you to try to do for me. Here are the pieces we are going to use." (The subjects were given the pieces). "As you see, there are six green triangles, six blue squares, and six red circles. I am going to put three of these in a particular order. I will then show you a card with three pieces in different order. It is your job to get the three pieces I put in front in the order shown on the card. You can do this by trading one of the pieces I have given you for one of the pieces that I have set up. Every time you trade pieces, this is considered one move. You have three moves. There is only one rule and you must follow it. You can replace any piece by any other piece except the piece in the first position can only be replaced by one that is the same as the one already in the second position, or the third position." (Experimenter then gave an example). Each tenth grade subject was told he would receive a dime for each correct response. The experimenter said, "Let us try to do a few turns so that you can see how you can earn dimes." Each subject was then given five practice trials. During the practice trials, the subject was shown the correct solution if he had not solved the problem within the 60 second time limit.

Immediately after the practice trials, the solvable and unsovable groups were given ten problems. Correct solutions were not given if the subject failed. The pieces were placed in front of the subject. The subjects in the solvable groups had problems which could be solved by the rules of the task. The subjects in the unsolvable groups had problems which could not be solved by the rules of the task. The problems were presented to all subjects in the same grade group in the same order, which was randomly determined.

Diagraph Task, Second and Tenth Grade Comparison Groups

To the tenth grade comparison group, the experimenter said, "Before you are triangles, squares and circles. I am going to show you how you can go from one particular order of three of these to another order of three by replacing them one at a time using these extra pieces." The experimenter then told them the rules and showed how she follows them in doing the task. The experimenter went through all the solvable diagraph problems (15) while the subject just observed. The second grade comparison group also watched the experimenter do all the diagraph problems, but were given instructions which were the same as those given to the solvable and unsolvable group of the second grade.

Session 2, Part 2: Measurement of Dependent Variables

Block Design Task

After the subject had completed the diagraph task, they had a five minute break. After the break, the second task began. The experimenter then said, "I am interested in finding out if you can make certain designs with these blocks (the subject was shown the block). You can see that the blocks are red on some sides, white on some sides, and red and white on some sides. I will show you a picture of the design I would like you to make with the blocks, and then you will try to make one on the card. (The subject was shown a card.) For each correct design that you copy you will get a chip that can be traded for certain toys and gifts. (The subject was shown the gifts, a dime, instead of a toy, in the case of the tenth graders.) Each toy or gift cost a different number of chips. To get that toy or gift, you must earn the number of chips on the card beside the toy or gift. For example, to get this doll, you need 10 chips and to get this comb you need five chips. I would like you to do something else for me. As soon as I show you the design and before you begin to copy it, I want you to tell me if you think you will be able to match the design. If you are sure that you can copy the card, you will say 'sure.' If you are almost sure that you can copy the card, you can say 'almost sure.' If you are not sure how you will do, you will say 'maybe.' If you are almost sure that you will not be able to match the design on the card you say 'almost sure not to.' If you are sure that you will not be able to match the design on the card you say 'sure not to.' In case you forget, the card showing what you are supposed to say in each case is right here. Let us try a few so that you can see how to earn chips (dimes)." After five practice problems, each subject was given ten test problems. The pictures of the designs were placed in front of the subject, one at a time. The problems were solvable by the rules of the task.

Analysis of Data

Univariate analyses for a fixed effects model and analysis of comparison for specific dependent variables were applied to the data. Also Scheffe's (1953) method is used to analyze all a posteriori comparisons.

RESULTS

The results supported the first three hypotheses, but not the fourth and fifth hypotheses. Exposure to the unsolvable Diagraph Task resulted in poorer cognitive performance, as measured by Block Design scores, compared to exposure to the solvable Diagraph Task or to the experimenter's performing the solvable Diagraph Task. The students who were given the unsolvable Diagraph Task (unsolvable group) scored significantly lower on the Block Design Task than did the students who were given the unsolvable Diagraph Task (solvable group) or observed the experimenter performing the Diagraph Task (comparison group). The students in the unsolvable and solvable groups did not differ in their performance on the Block Design Task. In summary, the unsolvable group displayed the poorer cognitive performance associated with helplessness relative to the comparison and solvable groups.

More importantly, the lower class and black students were generally more susceptible to the poorer cognitive performance indicative of helplessness, as measured by the Block Design Task, after exposure to the unsolvable Diagraph Task than the middle class and white students. The lower class and black students were not more susceptible to poorer cognitive performance, as measured by the Block Design Task, after exposure to the solvable Disagraph Task or to the experimenter's performing the solvable Diagraph Task than the middle-class and white students.

The black-white difference in Block Design scores was greater for students exposed to the unsolvable Diagraph Task than the black-white difference in Block Design scores for students exposed to the solvable

Diagraph Task or to the experimenter's performing the solvable Diagraph Task. Also the middle-class--lower-class differered in Block Design scores for the students exposed to the solvable Diagraph Task or to the experimenter's performing the Diagraph Task.

Hypothesis I

Evidence of Poorer Cognitive Performance After Exposure to an Unsolvable Task

The students exposed to the unsolvable Diagraph Task scored significantly lower on the Block Design Task than the students exposed to the solvable Diagraph Task or to the experimenter's performing the solvable Diagraph Task. The students in the two latter groups did not differ significantly in their scores on the Block Design Task. This difference in susceptibility to poorer cognitive performance between the three groups indicates that the poorer cognitive performance indicative of helplessness resulted from exposure to an unsolvable task.

Figures 1 and 2 show the Group effect for the data analyzed without regard to grade [F (2,168) = 28.51, $P < .001$] and separately for each grade second, [F (2,84) = 12.49, $P < .001$] tenth, [F (2,84 = 16.29, $P < .001$] in the Block Design Task scores. These significant Group effects for Block Design Task scores indicated that the unsolvable group scored significantly lower than the solvable and comparison groups on the Block Design Task. The latter two groups did not differ significantly in their performance on the Block Design Task.

Hypothesis II

Evidence for Greater Susceptibility to Poorer Cognitive Performance, After Exposure to an Unsolvable Task, by Black Students as Compared to White Students.

The black students exhibited a greater susceptibility to poorer cognitive performance after exposure to the unsolvable Design Task than the white students as measured by Block Design Task scores. This was indicated by a significantly greater black-white difference in Block Design Task scores for students exposed to the unsolvable Diagraph Task as compared to the black-white difference in Block Design Task scores for the students exposed to the solvable Diagraph Task or to the experimenter's performing the solvable Diagraph Task. The black-white differences in Block Design scores indicated that the black students scored lower on the Block Design Task than the white students. The greater susceptibility of the black students to poorer cognitive performance after exposure to an unsolvable task, in comparison to the white students, existed when the data was analyzed separately for each grade.

Figures 3 and 4 show that the blacks displayed more susceptibility to poorer cognitive performance after exposure to the unsolvable Diagraph Task than whites, as measured by the Block Design Task, when the data was analyzed without regard to grade and for the second grade only when the data was analyzed separately for each grade. The Race X group interaction for the Block Design Task scores obtained when the data was analyzed without regard to grade [F (2,168 = 5.73, $P < .004$] indicates that the black unsolvable group scored lower than the black solvable group and comparison group and the white comparison, unsolvable and solvable groups on the Block Task Design [S(Scheffe) (2,168) = 1.66, $P < .01$]. White comparison, solvable and unsolvable groups did not differ significantly from each other in Block Design scores nor did the black comparison and solvable groups. Neither the black comparison group nor the black solvable group differed significantly from their white counterparts in Block Design scores. Also the black-white difference in Block Design scores for the comparison groups was not

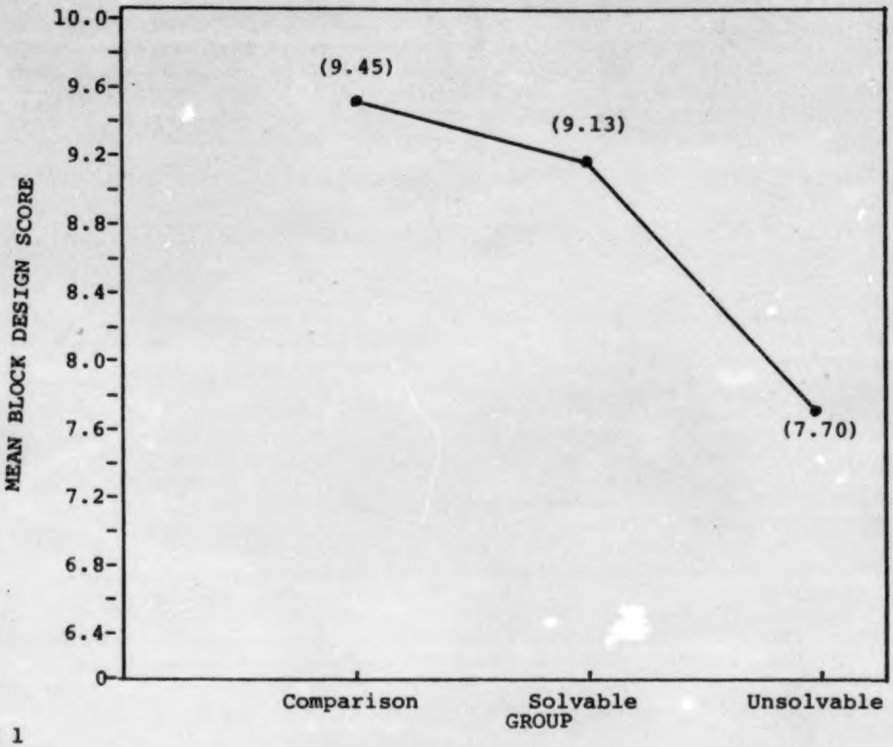

Figure 1

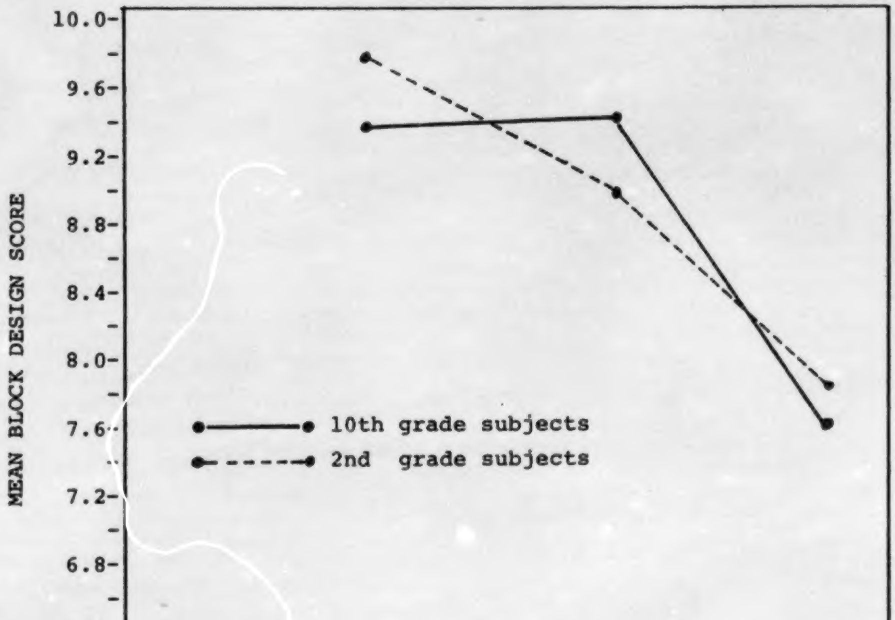

Figure 2.

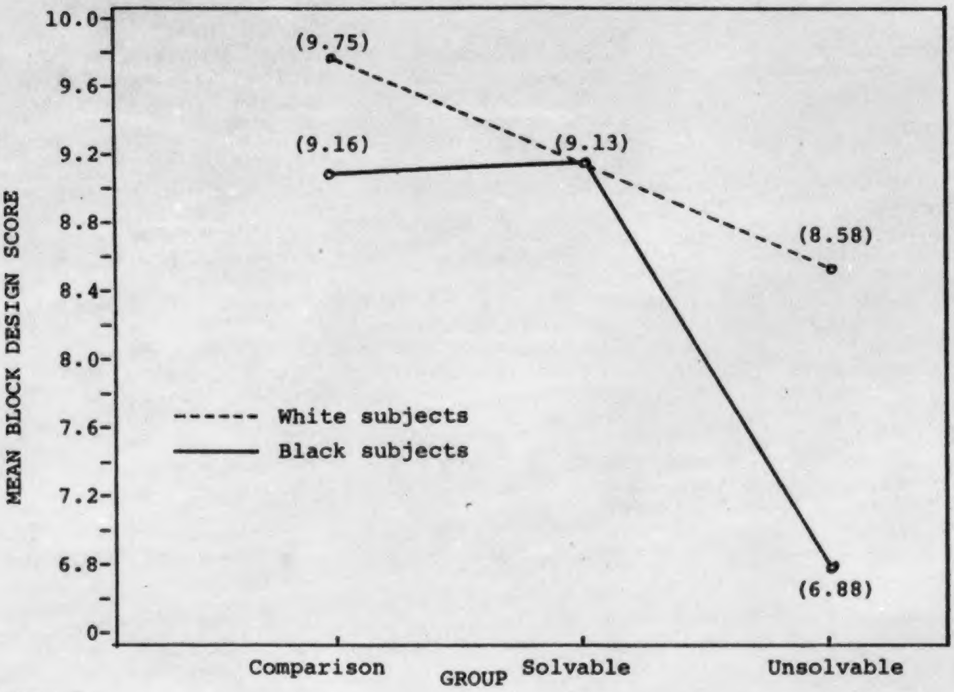

Figure 3.

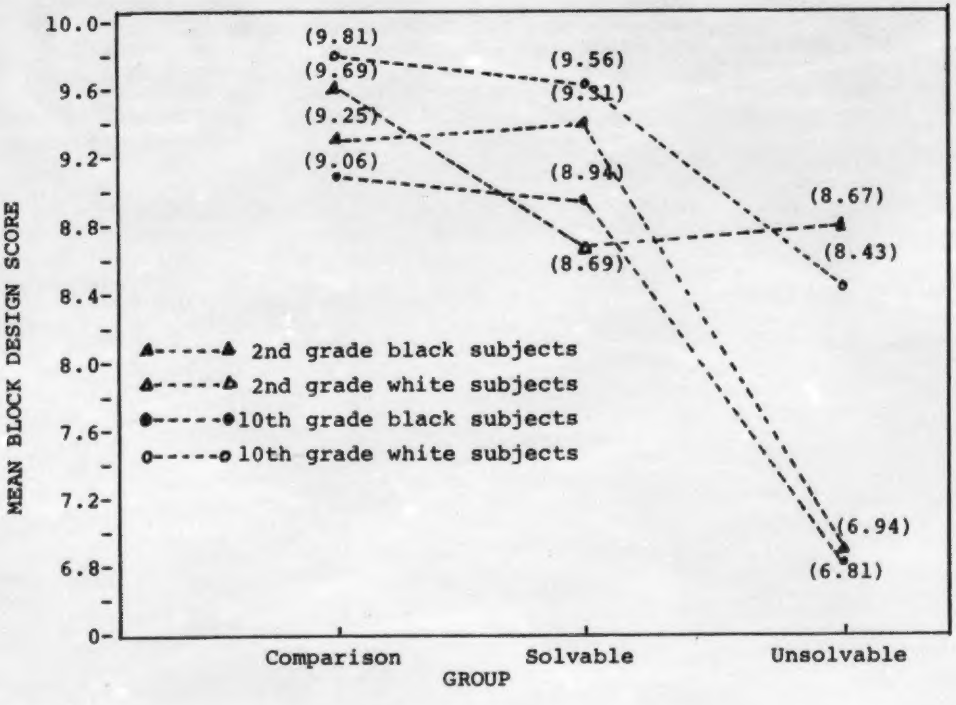

Figure 4.

significantly different than the black-white difference in Block Design scores for the solvable groups, whereas the black-white difference in Block Design scores for the unsolvable groups was greater than the black-white difference in Block Design scores for both the comparison and solvable groups [$S(2,168) = 1.19$, $P < .01$].

The Race X Group interaction for the Block Design scores for the second grade [$F(1,84) = 5.19$, $P < .008$] indicates that the black unsolvable group scored lower on the Block Design Task than the black solvable and comparison groups [$S(2,84) = 1.99$, $P < .05$] and the white comparison group [$S(2.84) = 2.48$, $P < .01$]. The white comparison, solvable and unsolvable groups did not differ significantly in scores from each other in the Block Design scores nor did the black comparison and solvable groups. Neither the black comparison, solvable, nor unsolvable groups scored significantly lower than their white counterparts in the Block Design Task. Also the black-white difference in Block Design scores for the comparison groups was not significantly different than the black-white difference in Block Design scores for the solvable groups. Nor was the black-white difference in Block Design scores for the unsolvable groups significantly different than the black-white difference in Block Design scores for the solvable group. Lastly, the black-white difference in Block Design scores for the unsolvable groups was greater than the black-white difference in Block Design scores for the comparison group [$S(2,84) = 1.70$, $P < .01$].

In the tenth grade, there was no significant Race X Group interaction in Block Design scores. Post hoc analysis indicated that the black unsolvable group scored lower than the black comparison and unsolvable groups [$S(2,84) = 1.88$, $P < .05$] and the white comparison and unsolvable groups [$S(2.84) = 2.33$, $P < .01$]. The white comparison, solvable and unsolvable groups did not differ significantly from each other in Block Design scores, nor did the black comparison and solvable groups. The black solvable, unsolvable and comparison groups did not score significantly different than their white counterparts, and the black-white difference in Block Design scores for the comparison groups was not significantly different than the black-white difference in Block Design scores for the solvable group. Lastly, the black-white difference in Block Design scores for the unsolvable groups was greater than the groups [$S(2,84) = 1.88$, $P < .01$].

The fact that there was no race difference in susceptibility to poorer cognitive performance after exposure to the unsolvable Diagraph Task, as measured by Block Design scores, for the tenth grade, while there was a race difference for the second grade, appears to be due to the discrepant behavior of the second grade white students who were exposed to the unsolvable Diagraph Task. In the tenth grade, all students, both black and white who were exposed to the unsolvable Diagraph Task exhibited poorer cognitive performance relative to those students exposed to the solvable Diagraph Task or the experimenter's performing the solvable Diagraph Task. In the second grade only, the black students who were exposed to the unsolvable Diagraph exhibited poorer cognitive performance, relative to those students exposed to the Diagraph Task or the experimenter's performing the solvable Diagraph Task, but the white students did not. This suggests that for blacks susceptibility to poorer cognitive performance, after exposure to an unsolvable task, is already present by the second grade. On the other hand it appeared that whites were not susceptible to poorer cognitive performance after exposure to an unsolvable task by second grade, but were susceptible by tenth grade.

Hypothesis III

Evidence for a Greater Susceptibility to Poorer Cognitive Performance After Exposure to an Unsolvable Task by Lower Class Students, as Compared to Middle Class

The lower class students exhibited a greater susceptibility to poorer cognitive performance after exposure to the unsolvable Diagraph

Task relative to the middle-class students, as measured by Block Design Task scores. This is indicated by a significantly greater lower-class--middle-class difference in Block Design Task scores as compared to the lower class--middle-class difference in Block Design Task scores, for the students exposed to the solvable Diagraph Task or the experimenter's performing the solvable Diagraph Task. The lower-class--middle-class difference in Block Design scores indicated that the lower-class students scored lower on the Block Design Task than the middle-class students. The greater susceptibility of the lower-class students to poorer cognitive performance after exposure to an unsolvable task in comparison to middle-class students, existed when the data was analyzed without regard to grade and for each grade when the data was analyzed separately.

Figures 5 and 6 show that the lower-class subjects displayed more susceptibility to poorer cognitive performance after exposure to the unsolvable Diagraph Task than the middle class subjects, as measured by the Block Design Task, when the data was analyzed without regard to grade and separately for both grades.

The Class X Group interaction for Block Design Task scores, obtained when the data is analyzed without regard to grade [F (2,168) = 6.02, $P < .001$], indicated that lower class unsolvable group scores were lower than the lower-class solvable and comparison groups and the middle-class comparison, solvable and unsolvable groups [S (1,68) = 1.66, $P < .01$]. The middle-class comparison, solvable and unsolvable groups did not differ significantly in scores from each other Block Design scores, nor did the lower-class comparison and solvable groups. Also, the middle-class--lower-class differences in Block Design scores for the comparison groups was not significantly different than the middle-class--lower-class difference in Block Design scores for the solvable groups, whereas the middle-class--lower-class difference in Block Design scores for the unsolvable groups is greater than the middle-class--lower-class difference in Block Design scores for both the comparison and solvable groups [S(2,168) = 1.19, $P < .01$].

These Class X Group interactions for the Block Design scores for the tenth grade[F (2,84) = 3.83, $P < .03$] indicated the lower class unsolvable groups scored lower on the Block Design Task than the lower class solvable and comparison groups and the middle-class solvable, unsolvable and comparison groups [S(2,84) = 1.88, $P < .01$]. The lower-class solvable and unsolvable groups did not differ significantly from each other in Block Design scores, nor did the lower-class comparison and solvable groups. Neither the lower-class comparison nor the lower-class solvable groups scored significantly lower than their counterparts on the Block Design Task. Also the lower-class--middle-class difference in Block Design scores for the comparison groups was not significantly different than the lower-class--middle-class difference for the solvable groups in Block Design scores. Lastly, the lower-class--middle-class difference in Block Design scores for the solvable group was greater than the lower-class--middle-class difference in Block Design scores for both the solvable groups [S(2,84) = 1.33, $P < .05$], and the comparison groups [S(2,84) = 1.65, $p < .01$].

The Class X group interaction for the second grade [F (2,84) = 3.05, $P < .05$] indicated that the lower-class unsolvable group scored lower on the Block Design Task than the lower-class solvable group [S (2,84) - 1.99, $P < .05$]. The middle class comparison, solvable, and unsolvable groups did not differ significantly from each other in Block Design scores, nor did the lower class comparison and solvable groups. Neither the lower class comparison solvable nor unsolvable groups scored significantly lower than their white counterparts on the Block Design Task. Also, the lower-class--middle-class difference for the comparison groups was not significantly different than the lower-class--middle-class difference for the solvable group. Lastly, the lower-class--middle-class difference in Block Design scores for the unsolvable groups was different than the lower-class--middle-class difference in Block Design scores for the comparison groups [S (2,84) = 1.7, $P < .01$].

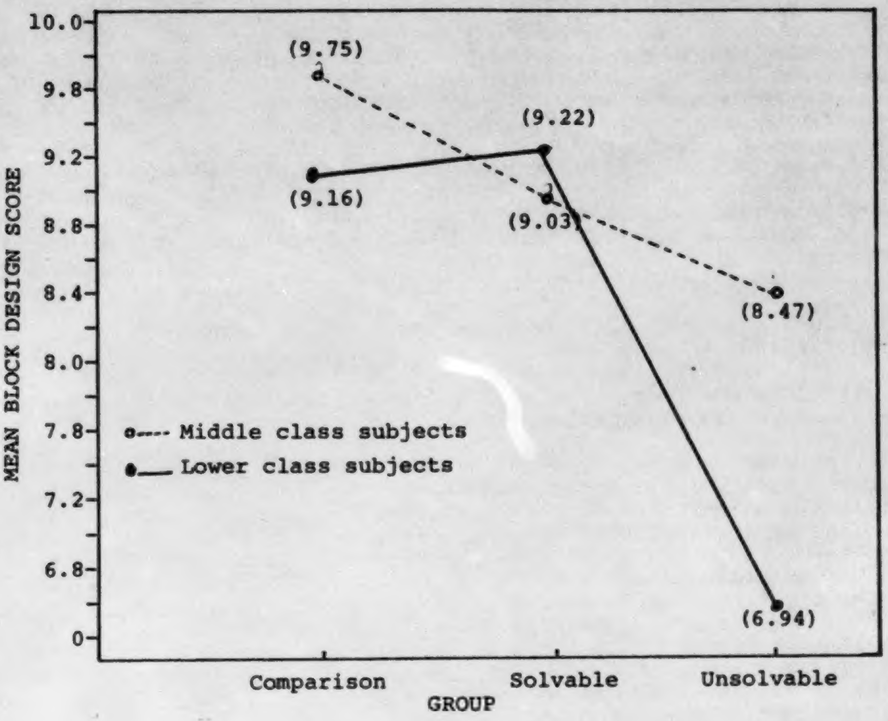

Figure 5.

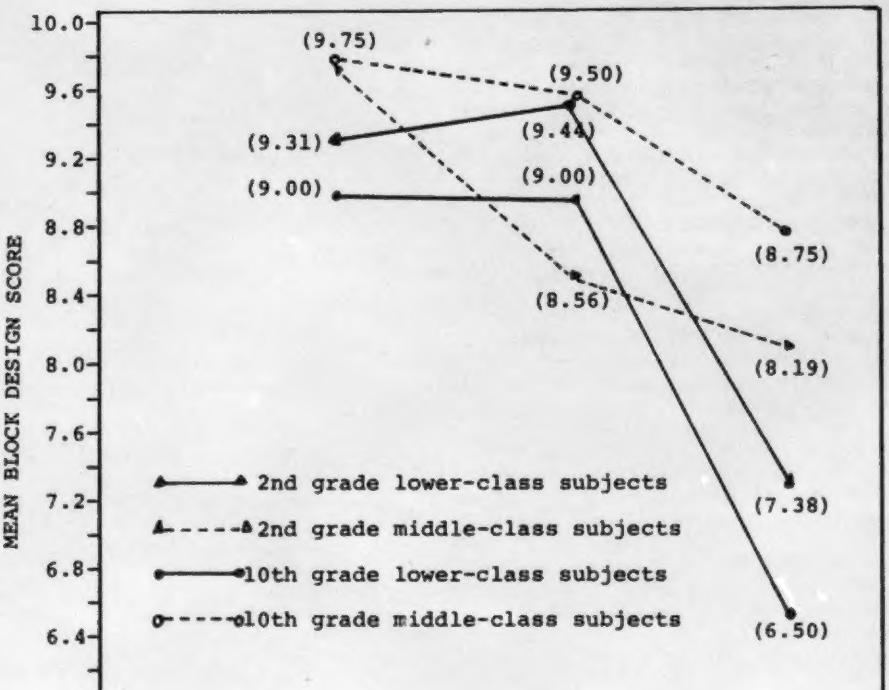

Figure 6.

Hypothesis IV & Hypothesis V

Evidence That the Greater Susceptibility to Poorer Cognitive Performance After Exposure to an Unsolvable Task of Black and Lower-Class Students, as Compared to White Students and Middle-Class Students will be Greater for the Tenth Grade.

There was no increase in the black-white or the lower-class--middle-class difference in susceptibility to poorer cognitive performance after exposure to an unsolvable task, as measured by Block Design scores, from second grade to tenth grade. The black and lower-class students' greater susceptibility to poorer performance after exposure to an unsolvable task as measured by Block Design scores in comparison to white and middle-class students, did not increase from the second grade to the tenth grade. There was no significant Race X Grade X Group or Class X Grade X Group interaction for Block Design scores.

DISCUSSION

Race and Class Differences in the Predisposition toward Helplessness

The fact that black and lower-class students have a greater predisposition toward poorer cognitive performance after exposure to an unsolvable task is supported by the significant Class X Group and Race X Group effects for Block Design Scores. This supports the second and third hypotheses which predicted that black and lower-class students would show a greater susceptibility to poorer cognitive performance after exposure to unsolvable problems than white and middle-class students, as measured by the scores on the Test Task. Because of the matching for Raven Matrices scores and the triadic design, it is highly unlikely these results could have been due to differences in cognitive ability or methodological problems.

The most probably cause of the significant Race X Group and Class X Group interaction is a differential reaction to failure by the two racial groups. The crucial question is what is the cause of this differential reaction to failure? The stimulus is know--exposure to an unsolvable task as opposed to a solvable task or no task. The response is known--differential susceptibility to poorer cognitive performance by the two racial and the two socioeconomic groups. It is necessary to present here what is different about the two racial and the two socio-economic groups which could explain their differential reactions to unsolvability. In terms of an S-O-R model, the intervening variables must be determined. Helplessness as a concept provides an intervening process which adequately explains our results. Applied here, it means that previous experience with controllability and uncontrollability would result in different expectations on the part of the subjects concerning environmental contingencies after failure. The introduction cited and documented literature which would support differential experience with and differential perceptions of control in black vs. white populations and lower-class vs. middle-class populations. The expectation of uncontrollability after failure would probably result in certain behavior which would be evidence of poorer cognitive performance. As these black and lower class children learn that their voluntary responses do not have an affect on consequences in certain situations (i.e., the academic setting) or after certain events (i.e., failure) certain other behaviors develop. Also black and lower-class children who have continual experience with uncontrollability will probably not develop certain types of problem solving behavior. It can be postulated that the problem solving in many cases involves discovering causal relationships. Causal relationships imply a link between certain events and behavior, and their consequences. If an individual perceives that his environment is uncontrollable, he may perceive his environment as devoid of causal relationships. As a result of this perspective, he either does not develop or utilize cognitive strategies which would aid him in discovering causal relationships.

Since research suggests that organisms will work for controllability and predictability, one could also suggest that the lack of control is aversive to human beings. Black and lower class children may adapt to the aversive situation of uncontrollability by shutting out certain aspects of their environment. A similar type of argument has been used to explain poor cognitive performance as a result of adapting to an aversive stimulus (noise). Cohen, Glass, and Singer (1973) looked at the effect of noise on the ability of children to read. The children lived in a thirty-two floor apartment building. This building was located near a noisy expressway. The degree to which the children were exposed to the noise decreased the higher up the child lived. These children were in the second through fifth grade. They were given an auditory discrimination task. They were asked to determine whether they perceived which pairs of words which differed in either initial or final sounds differed. The results indicated that, for the children with four or more years of residence, the lower the floor they lived on, the poorer the auditory discrimination. The same relationship was found between reading test scores and the floor level the child lived on. The author explained these results by postulating that the children on the lower floors had adapted to their noisy environment by ignoring auditory cues.

If either or both of these perspectives are correct, the individuals would be expected to display certain behavior which would result in poor cognitive performance. These children would be expected to pay less attention to their environment. They are also less likely to scan their memory for information or skills to deal with the situation. Their problem solving strategies would probably be primitive and utilized in a haphazard trial-and-error method, with little indication of profit from either immediate or past experience. Research does support the viewthat deterioration in problem solving strategies occurs when individuals are given cognitive dilemmas beyond their skills.

Under these circumstances problem solving strategies are likely to be rigid, show little variety, and reflect perservation. All of these proposed behaviors would certainly result in the predisposition to poorer cognitive performance, which was found among the black and lower class students in this research. There is the possibility of effects due to the fact that the experimenter was aware of the hypotheses and the pretreatment of each subject. This could possibly lead to differential behavior on the part of the subjects as a result of experimenter expectation.

IMPLICATIONS

The existence of racial and class differences in susceptibility to helplessness has certain implications for the education of different ethnic and socio-economic groups. Often a Head Start of Get Set program is the first academic experience for poor and/or black children. It therefore is important that these programs do not increase susceptibility to helplessness, counteract any preexisting predisposition toward helplessness, and immunize against helplessness.

To accomplish this, the preschool environment should instill within the child the perceptions and expectations that, within his environment, consequences are contingent upon his behavior. Also these contingencies should be made perceptually and cognitively salient. In other words, the links between the child's behaviors and their consequences in his environment should be obvious and attention getting, both perceptually and cognitively. Lastly, these expectations and perceptions should be achieved through direct interaction with the environment, in particular through experimentation.

Using these three general guidelines, specific activities for lower class and black children within these programs should be planned. First, these children should be given an opportunity to observe cause and effect experiments, such as how one billiard ball affects the movement of other billiard balls as they collide. During the next stage, these children should participate in the implementation of such experiments (i.e., setting up a simple electric circuit), and then they should be involved at all three levels with cause and effect experiments which have longer and longer intervals between the cause and the effect (i.e., how different factors effect the growth of a plant).

These types of activities would give the child an attributional focus which would be extremely salient, but would not bring attribution into the personal realm. To accomplish this, I would also recommend an experimental type of learning structure. The purpose of the activities in this phase should be to focus the child's attention on how his own behavior affects the environment. Role playing may prove to be very useful here. The children would be asked to take on behaviors that vary in very explicit aspects and affect consequences. Other children would be asked to play the role of various individuals within society who are the mediators of consequences. Discussions of these role playint scenarios and the relationship between consequences and behavior would follow.

At the next level the children would participate in more reality-based experiments. For example, the class can be divided into two groups. One group would be asked to spend one week practicing a task (i.e., learning to spell certain words). The other group would not be given the words nor would they know what they will be. Then a contest between the two groups would be held (after a pre-test to assure equality in "ability to spell the words" before the practice period). After the contest, the students would discuss why the group performed better. Other activities like this should be designed which allow for variation in effort, and/or amount of practice, and which would show that success is possible after failure with continued effort and practice. Other suggested activities could include experimentation with sound devices (bells, triangles, jugs, tubs, etc.). In this situation, the children would be allowed to find out how hitting these objects in a different manner or with different instruments results in different sounds. Experimentation with sound would be especially useful with younger children.

The one conceptual basis which supports this type of learning is the Piagetian epistomology (Inhelder, 1978). This view of knowledge draws parallels between the development of knowledge within science and the cognitive development of the child. These parallels exist not only in terms of content, but also in terms of the modes of transformation from one structure to another. One of the major transformations in the development of science is in the area of causality. Concepts of Causality in the sciences develop from interaction with the environment, according to Inhelder (1978), so do concepts of causality in the cognitive development of the child.

From this Piagetian perspective, learning occurs both in the sciences and for children when present experience conflicts with already established predictions. Continual experimentation which forces the child to relate consequences to his behaviors should lead to the knowledge that consequences are contingent on behavior even in the fact of contrary expectations.

Causal experimentation in these Head Start and Get Set programs should especially focus on those areas in the life of the child where previous experience has created a perspective of helplessness (i.e., academically related areas). Also small group activities under the control of the children as opposed to large group activities under the control of the teacher should be emphasized. When the entire group does interact, emphasis should be placed on looking at the behavior of the different smaller groups and how this behavior relates to the products coming out of each small group.

In all teaching activities, experimentation should be the key word. Instead of telling the children that a particular answer of strategy is right or wrong, the child should be allowed, whenever possible, to test it to arrive at the correct strategies and responses through his own efforts. This means that experimental situations which guide the child's behaviors must be devised. A good example comes from Blanchett's work (1977), a situation in which the child was given eight balls, string, clips, and rods of three different lengths and was required to construct a mobile. The mobile was required to include all balls, to have all rods horizontal, and to have string at their extremities. To accomplish this task, the child had to work out the relationship between the parts and the whole.

Tasks such as these, by their very structure, guide the child to success and an understanding of the consequences of his behavior through his own efforts. An example of such situational learning could be accomplished by the reintroduction of the abacus as an instrument in the teaching of counting and arithmetic. Through the use of this type of device, the child can be made aware that correct and incorrect answers are the result of certain behavior. For example he will be learning that if when asked to add three beads and five beads, he does not get five beads, that he has either not counted the beads correctly or separated the correct number of beads. He can also learn that the correct answer can still be achieved after failure if the behavior is changed. In summary all activities within the setting should be geared toward the child learning the relationship between his behavior and the environment.

Lastly, it should be noted that this research does not allow a distinction between two viable alternative explanations of the intervening processes which could account for the greater susceptibility of black and lower-class children. One hypothesis is that this increased susceptibility results from perceptions and expectations on the part of the child that the uncontrollability stems from his or her lack of ability. This is the hypothesis addressed by the interventions mentioned above. The other hypothesis is that the increased susceptibility results from perceptions on the part of the child that the situation is uncontrollable in and of itself. The two hypotheses parallel the distinction between universal and personal helplessness, mentioned in the introduction. This hypothesis is not addressed by the interventions mentioned above. If this hypothesis is correct, then lower class and black children exhibit more adaptive bheavior than their white and middle class counterparts by not exerting motivational or cognitive effort in futile situations. In this case, intervention would focus upon increasing the capacity to discriminate between controllable and uncontrollable situations. In other words, the child must be taught to recognize the cues of uncontrollability.

CONCLUSION

The evidence suggestive of the existence of ethnic and class differences in susceptibility helplessness presented here represents an indictment of the social and political institutions within the U.S. Our data suggest that certain groups within the society are consistently being deprived of the control experiences necessary for positive motivational, cognitive, and emotional development. At the same time, under present conditions the victim is being asked to make retribution for the crime. It is now the time for the criminal to be held responsible. If there is even the slightest possibility that the data presented represent a general reality for black and lower class children, the social and political systems owe the children further research into the parameters of this phenomenon. The obvious goal of this research should be the eradication of the increased susceptibility to helplessness of black and lower class children, and therefore, of the destructive behavior which results.

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APPENDIX A

DIAGRAPH PROBLEMS - SECOND GRADE

Solvable

p1 ●▲▲ to ●●●
p2 ■▲▲ to ■■■
p3 ▲■■ to ▲▲▲
p4 ▲●● to ▲▲▲
p5 ●▲■ to ●●●
1 ●■■ to ●●●
2 ■●● to ■■■
3 ▲■● to ▲▲▲
4 ■●▲ to ■■■
5 ●▲■ to ●●●
6 ▲●■ to ▲▲▲
7 ■▲● to ■■■
8 ■▲■ to ■■▲
9 ●▲■ to ●●▲
10 ▲■▲ to ▲▲■

Unsolvable

p1 ●●▲ to ●●●
p2 ■▲▲ to ■■■
p3 ▲■■ to ▲▲▲
p4 ▲●● to ▲▲▲
p5 ●▲■ to ●●●
1 ■●■ to ●●●
2 ●■● to ■■■
3 ■▲■ to ▲▲▲
4 ●■▲ to ■■■
5 ▲●■ to ●●■
6 ●▲■ to ▲▲▲
7 ▲■● to ■■■
8 ▲■■ to ■■▲
9 ▲●● to ●●▲
10 ■▲▲ to ▲▲■

APPENDIX B

DIAGRAPH PROBLEMS - TENTH GRADE

Solvable

p1 ● ● ● to ▲ ● ■
p2 ■ ■ ■ to ▲ ■ ■
p3 ▲ ▲ ▲ to ● ● ●
p4 ● ● ■ to ▲ ▲ ●
p5 ■ ■ ● to ▲ ▲ ■
1 ▲ ▲ ● to ■ ■ ▲
2 ▲ ● ● to ■ ● ●

3 ▲ ■ ■ to ● ■ ▲
4 ■ ▲ ▲ to ▲ ■ ●
5 ● ■ ● to ■ ● ▲
6 ■ ● ■ to ● ■ ▲
7 ▲ ● ▲ to ● ▲ ■
8 ● ▲ ● to ▲ ● ■
9 ■ ▲ ■ to ▲ ■ ●

10 ▲ ■ ▲ to ■ ▲ ●

Unsolvable

p1 ● ● ● to ▲ ● ■
p2 ■ ■ ■ to ▲ ■ ■
p3 ▲ ▲ ▲ to ● ● ●
p4 ● ● ■ to ▲ ▲ ●
p5 ■ ■ ● to ▲ ▲ ■
1 ▲ ▲ ● to ■ ● ▲
2 ▲ ● ● to ■ ▲ ▲

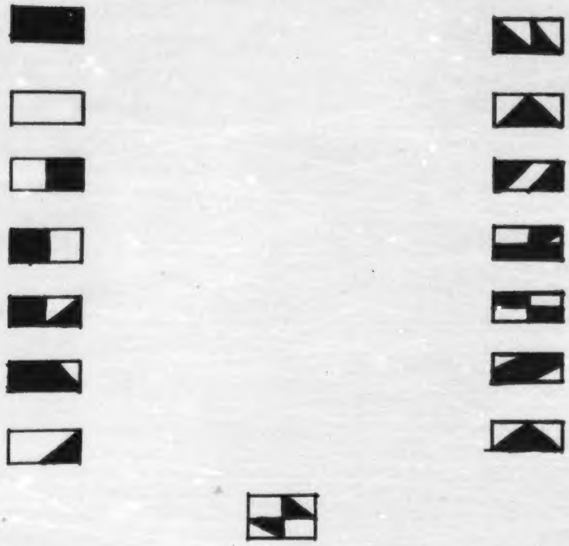
3 ▲ ■ ■ to ● ▲ ▲
4 ■ ▲ ▲ to ● ■ ■
5 ● ■ ● to ▲ ● ■
6 ■ ● ■ to ▲ ■ ●
7 ▲ ● ▲ to ■ ▲ ●
9 ● ▲ ● to ■ ● ▲
9 ■ ▲ ■ to ● ■ ▲

10 ▲ ■ ▲ to ● ▲ ■

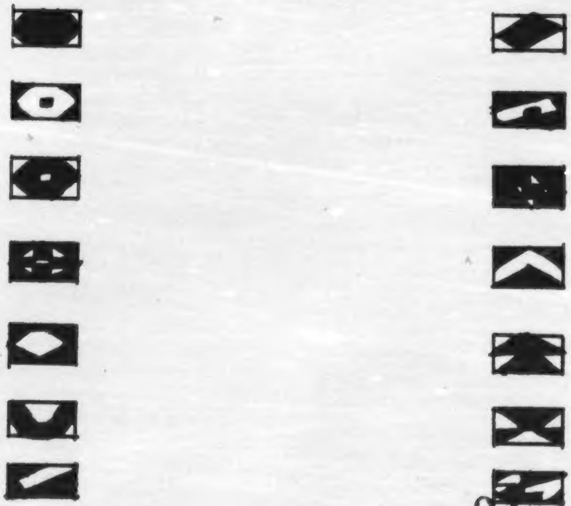
APPENDIX C

BLOCK DESIGN PROBLEMS

Second Grade



Tenth Grade



ED185150

Stress vs. Identity Among Black Males

Masters Proposal
DeVon Renard Stokes

A recurrent theme in literature on black identity is Negro self-hate. Essentially, black people are portrayed as suffering from one of the following four conditions: (1) low self-esteem, (2) impaired identity formation, (3) "pathological" environmental adaptation, and/or (4) low intellectual functioning. However, research is emerging that questions many of the "scholarly conclusions" that have ('colored investigations') along these lines (Mack, 1971; Swan, 1974). Rosenberg (1965) has questioned the entirety of findings alleging low self-esteem with respect to Afro-Americans. He states:

> Negroes who are exposed to the most intense, humiliating, and crippling forms of discrimination in every institutional area, do not have particularly low self-esteem. (p. 57)

Rosenberg also describes white attendants manifesting much lower self-esteem than their black counterparts within a mental institution. He hypothesizes that one's esteem may be affected by his position within a group, rather than the entire group's rank with respect to other groups. This circumstance gives evidence to the fact that employment under such conditions was considered good for blacks, and to the contrary, humiliating for whites. Miller and Dreger (1973) tend to support this finding by observing that the nature of the self-concept, positive or negative, is not really attributable to the subfactors which are inherent in the racial picture. This entire issue has been referred to as "Uncle Tom and Mr. Charlie" research--researchers, black or white, who use stereotypical research frames of reference when discussing black people (McCarthy & Yancey, 1973).

> Afro-Americans are usually classified monolithically, with little reference to specifics on the group being studied. Usually, this type of research ends with sweeping generalities on the entire minority group. (Winbush, 1976)

The theory of low self-esteem among black Americans may just be another example, in psychological research, of making generalities on an entire group while specifying specificity. Ladner (1973) inquires about such "objectivity" within sociological research. Hall and Freedle (1975) support this notion by maintaining that even in higher scientific circles, the cultural background of individual scientists may cloud their reasoning when it is necessary to evaluate differing cultural patterns. Fortunately, there are studies that question specificity within psychological research (Winbush, et al., 1977); and others which are "crying out" for alternatives to "traditional Euro-American approaches" (Myers, 1978). This research suggests the importance of investigating identification as a way of explaining Black's reactions to oppression. The present study attempts to determine whether stress in black males is increased due to their "identification with the oppressor."

Some aspects of racial identification as explanation of the behavior of Black Americans have a long history in American psychological research. Clark and Clark (1950), for example, reported that white dolls were preferred over black ones when questioning black children as to their ultimate preference. They concluded from their findings that these children must have low self-concepts. These and related findings have been replicated numerous times (Asher & Allen, 1969; Greenwald & Oppenheim, 1968; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Radke, Sutherland, & Rosenberg, 1950).

However, other research has shown some black children generally preferring the black doll (Gregor & McPherson, 1966; Hraba & Grant, 1970). Johnson (1966) found blacks equal to whites in self-esteem in their study of the racial attitudes of Negro and White civil rights participants and Negro freedom school participants. Hraba and Grant (1970) note that within inter-racial settings, black youth are not white oriented. However, clarification must be made that comparison of these studies and results reveals uncomparable settings, samplings, techniques, and other independent variables.

Erikson (1950; 1954; 1959; 1962; 1968), who, ironically, is considered by many to be the father of black identity, has extensively commented on the "special case" of black adolescents and identity. In order for the reader to avoid misunderstanding, it would only be appropriate to let Erikson (1964) speak for himself:

> Problems of Negro youth span the whole phenomenology of aggravated identity confusion and rapid new identity formation . . . .
>
> The babies of our colored countrymen . . . often receive sensual satisfactions which provide them with enough oral and sensory surplus for a life-time as clearly betrayed in the way they move, laugh, talk, and sing . . . .
>
> Three identities are formed: (1) mammy's oral sensual 'honey-child'--tender, expressive, rhythmical; (2) the evil identity of the dirty, anal-sadistic, phallic rapist 'nigger'; and (3) the clean, anal-compulsive, restrained, friendly, but always sad 'white man's Negro' . . . .
>
> So-called opportunities offered the migrating Negro often only turn out to be a more subtly restricted prison which endangers his historically 'successful' identity (that of the slave) and fails to provide a reintegration of the other identity fragments . . . . (pp. 29-30)

However, in this same compendium of statements concerning identity and Negro youth, Erikson, apologetically, attempts to evaluate himself. In a rare stroke of intellectual humility, he states:

> A lack of familiarity with the problem of Negro youth and with the actions by which Negro youth hope to solve these problems is a marked deficiency in my life and work and cannot be compensated for with theoretical speculation. (p. 29)

Yet, researchers quite often quote Erikson when discussing black identity (Goodman, 1972; Sizemore, 1972), usually in the context of his epigenetic principle of personality development. Ironically, none of these authors have made any quantitative analyses of Erikson's concept of black identity. However, there are scientists who have challenged and critically analyzed Erikson's personality development on the black identity (Hayes, 1972; Winbush, 1976; Winbush, et al., 1977).

Interestingly enough, in 1891, Lloyd Morgan's Cannon challenged the growth of psychology into an empirical science by calling for the deletion of anecdotal evidence as a medium of describing animal behavior. Starting with the little black boy who shockingly realizes that Red Rider is "colored," Erikson (1950) has more than once used anecdotal evidence to reveal identity deficiency in black youth. Furthermore, he has consistently "leaned on" anecdotal evidence in his psycho-historical treatments of Ghandi and Luther. Maddi (1972) has noted that albeit Erikson's psychosocial theory is by far one of the most popular in contemporary psychology, it is tragically deficient in rigorous empirical analysis.

In his recapitulation of Negro youth and identity, Erikson (1964) continues to mistakingly come short in his specification of what group of Negro youth have problems "spanning the whole phenomenology of aggravated identity confusion . . . ." For many authors (Hodgkins & Stakenas, 1969; Shulman, 1968; Johnson, 1970) agree and maintain, contrary to much of the literature, that blacks score significantly higher than whites on tests relating to positive identity. Still other authors either found no significant differences or were not able to draw any overall conclusions concerning black and white identity (Bartee, 1968; Hughes, 1968; Lewis, 1967). Quite logically certain black people manifest more identity problems than certain white populations, and vice versa.

Hall and Freedle (1975) observe that there is less confusion when one is secure with his identity in terms of his definition within the system. They also (Hall, Freedle, & Cross, 1972; Hall, 1979) hypothesize that there is "a link between a systematic growth in attitude organization and changes in subcultural experience." Cross (1970) suggests that there exists a series of well-defined developmental periods through which black Americans mature when they confront blackness within themselves. Moreover, he speculated that as a result of their confrontation with themselves and subsequent resolution, they redefine themselves as noninferior, black and adequate. A parallel formulation to Cross' stages of black identity, is that of Myers (1977). She postulates the following: (1) "moving toward the oppressor"--similar to what Bettleheim discusses in terms of his "identification with the aggressor" syndrome--the person has internalized the values of mainstream white society, including the negative attitudes about black people; (2) "moving away from the oppressor"--characterized by attempts at psychological distancing--the person has developed almost a dual lifestyle in which work/career endeavors lead him into mainstream white society; yet, his personal/social life is predominantly black oriented. This individual seeks to psychologically distance himself from harsh realities of racist society in many ways, but he is aware that he must function within the system; and (3) "moving against the oppressor"--the person has rejected values of mainstream white society (e.g., materialism, competition, individualism) and has sought to implement an alternative value system. This person may function within mainstream society to an extent, but does so without the psychosocial orientation of that society.

Given this point of view, one might expect that the more deeply entrenched one is into an identity system that negates him or her, the more anxiety one will experience. There are numerous studies that test the concept of identity in relationship to anxiety (Epstein, 1976; Schubert, 1975; Milgram & Milgram, 1976; Kalunian, 1975). Howard and Kubis (1964) indicated that individuals who exhibited high anxiety and hostility scores, scored low on positive identity scores. This coincides with Erikson's characteristics of negative identity.

It is quite possible that individuals manifesting identity diffusion will be those who react to oppression by "moving toward the oppressor." They would be more likely to suffer from increased identity diffusion because they are seeking to be liked and accepted by whitesin a racist society. Increased anxiety and hostility, either consciously or subconsciously experienced or manifested, would be expected among these persons, because they experience frustration, rejection, and discrimination, yet "wanted to be white" and cannot achieve that racial identity. Many researchers have theorized that the mainstream white system of socialization itself contributes to identity problems and anxious behavior, although their analyses vary (Dyer, 1977; Rosenman & Friedman, 1976; Stokes & Myers, 1978). In light of these propositions,we would expect blacks with the greater identity diffusion to be those who choose to assimilate the identity of their oppressor (i.e., internalize his beliefs, values, etc.). The current research seeks to examine these hypotheses.

Three specific hypotheses are proposed: (1) Black males who respond to oppression by "moving toward the oppressor" will show a greater amount of physiological stress than black males who respond to oppression by "moving against the oppressor." (2) Black males who respond to oppression by "moving away from the oppressor" will show greater physiological stress than black males responding to oppression by "moving against the oppressor." (3) Black males who respond to oppression by "moving toward the oppressor" will show a greater amount of physiological stress than black males responding to oppression by "moving away from the oppressor."

Procedures

Subjects. The subjects will be 21 black males selected from the Ohio State University campus. Each category or cell (i.e., moving toward, moving away, and moving against) will contain seven subjects.

Instrument. Subjects will be given 30 statements that typify the categories of "moving toward the oppressor," "moving away from the oppressor," and "moving against the oppressor." The 30 statements are parallel to Cross' (1972) stages of black identity development. Subjects will be asked to rate each statement from 5 to 1, with 1 being equivalent to strongly disagree, and so on, to 5 being equivalent to strongly agree. Subjects will then be asked to comment verbally on the statements that they most strongly agree with and then to explain why.

Verbal responses from subjects will be made via an intercom system within the lab and chamber. A Grass Model 7B polygraph, equipped with appropriate driver and preamplifiers will be used to record physiological measures and responses. Verbal reports made by subjects will be recorded with Uher 4000 Report-L-tape recorder. Physiological measures will be taken when the subjects are responding to the staements and when they verbalize their justification.

Galvanic Skin Potential (GSP). Each subject will be placed in a quiet chamber while comfortably seated. The Beckman Ag-AgCl low-standing potential electrodes, filled with an electrode paste of .05N NaCl will be applied on the surface of the subject's body. On the subject's non-preferred hand, an active electrode will be placed on the volar surface of the second phalange of the middle finger. The volar surface of the same forearm will be chosen as the reference site. Prior to the placement of those electrodes, body oils will be removed and resistance at both electrode sites will be reduced by swabbing both with acetone and rubbing the reference site with a cotton gauze pad to remove the epidermal layer. In order to balance the DC potential and keep the oscillograph on channel, a bucking voltage will be introduced by a preamplifier.

Electrocardiograph (EKG). In order to record subjects' heart rate, Grass E5S cup electrodes filled with ECG paste will be placed on the lower rib cage and the right collar bone. The signal will be amplified by a Grass Wide Band A.C. preamplifier and averaged by a Grass cardiotachometer which provides a recording of the heart rate.

After the electrodes are placed, the subjects will be asked to breathe normally and move as little as possible. The experimenter will leave the subject in the chamber and enter the control room from which the subject can be heard and spoken to by an intercom system.

Baseline measures will be recorded for 3 minutes while subjects adjust to the experimental chamber. At the end of the 3 minutes the stimuli will be applied. The stimuli (statements) are pre-determined (Cross, 1972) to be analogous to the three categories. The physiological response to each independent stimulus will be recorded. In between each independent stimulus, subjects will be given 1 minute to relax so physiological responses may return to baseline.

Analysis. A chi-square analysis will be used to empirically test out the hypotheses of the study.

Black people become relevant to the history of mankind only around 1865 with the conclusion of slavery.

White women set the beauty standards because they exemplify all the most attractive characteristics.

White males are capable of controlling the world because of their superior intellectual and technical skills.

Integration and assimilation are the only ways to gain equality in this society.

The way to get ahead in the system is to know some whites personally and "get in good" with them.

Black people are incapable of handling responsible positions successfully because they lack the necessary cultural experiences.

Because whites control the material wealth throughout the world, one must acknowledge some kind of superiority.

Most blacks are somewhat lazy and irresponsible because they lack achievement motivation.

Black people should not trust each other because they are each others' true competition.

If black people worked a little harder, they would be in a better position.

I need to know more about my African heritage, which has been systematically negated by Euro-Americans.

Black people have been denied access to their African culture heritage which is very rich and complex.

Western culture has proven itself to be far superior to any other, as evidenced by its proliferation throughout the world.

Whites can comprehend more quickly than blacks because of their native intelligence.

The more money one makes, the more respect one can rightfully command.

Against-Positive

African people have had a prideful history, indeed it is now being acknowledged that many early "Greek" philosophers such as Pythagoras, Plato, Socrates, and Aristotle studied in Africa.

Black women should not adhere to the beauty standards set by whites, but be proud and set their own standards based on their natural characteristics.

Black males have exhibited much strength and power in their history, as evidenced by the fact that they have survived despite their dire oppression.

Assimilation and integration should be rejected by African Americans because it negates their identity and reinforces their oppression.

You do not have to emulate whites to achieve in this society, but must be able to develop your own ideas and strike a balance.

Black people are just as capable of "holding down" responsible positions as whites, if given equal opportunity.

Material gain doesn't make the white man superior.

Most black people would be more achievement oriented, however, they have been denied rewards for their work for so long they have generally become discouraged.

In order for black people to succeed in this society they have to like themselves and be able to work toward a common goal.

Black people have worked for over 400 years to build this country and still do not have equal status due to racism.

Black people are equal to whites in native intelligence, despite the bias of most standardized intelligence tests.

The money one makes has nothing to do with his self-worth.

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APPENDIX A

THE FOURTH CONFERENCE ON EMPIRICAL RESEARCH IN BLACK PSYCHOLOGY

January 7-9, 1979

The Third College
University of California - San Diego
La Jolla, California

INTRODUCTION

Within the last ten years, American universities have awarded doctorates to a growing number of Afro-American research psychologists. The first step usually taken by these researchers has been encouraging in that most have gravitated toward academic-research positions at major universities. However, due to the tremendous need for minority input at all levels of higher education, frequently they feel compelled to become involved in numerous university committees on "minority affairs" which inevitably cuts into time set aside for research. In other instances they are placed in the situation of being the only Black person in their respective psychology departments, and should their research focus on the Black experience, they may not receive the support and constructive criticism needed to sustain and refine such research ventures. For those researchers who do have the time and support for research, there is often the problem of overcoming the negative connotation given research in Black communities during the Black Power Movement. For these and a variety of related reasons, five years ago two young Black psychologists, A. Wade Boykin and Frank Yates, decided to promote a series of conferences that would emphasize the value of research in the analysis of issues related to Black Psychology, i.e., the psychology of the Afro-American Experience. Their plan called for a small group of Black empiricists to come together to critique and present papers, generate intellectual support for research projects, and to, in general, further a research orientation in the field of Black Psychology. Boykin and Yates believed that the best mechanism for accomplishing these goals is the small closed-door reserach conference because such a format is uninhibited by organizational constraints, publicity demands and pressures for "glamour."

Boykin and Yates held Conference I in June of 1974 at the University of Michigan, while Boykin worked with A. J. Franklin, Ph.D., in organizing Conference II at Columbia University in June of 1975. Algea Harrison, Ph.D. and William E. Cross, Jr., Ph.D., presented Conference III in October of 1976 at Cornell University.

This letter contains general information about Conference IV as well as the conference program.

TRANSPORTATION

Participants departing from points within the state of California should arrange travel plans for themselves then be reimbursed after the conference.

Prepaid air-line tickets for participants traveling from all points outside of the state of California were mailed on 12/1/78 (certified mail with return receipt requested). If you have not received your ticket, please contact William E. Cross as soon as possible (607) 256-4625.

As you are well aware, travel to the west coast can be extremely expensive. We discovered, in fact, that had we based our travel budget on the cost of "regular coach fares," as many as four of the current participants would have been excluded from the conference. This was

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Funding for Conference IV has been provided by a NIMH (DHEW) conference grant awarded to Wm. E. Cross, Jr., of the Africana Studies & Research Center at Cornell University.

not necessary for we saved a substantial amount of money by booking excursion fares for the trip to California, and night coach fares for return travel.

When seats are booked under "discount fares," it is almost impossible to change flight plans without encountering an additional charge. If you find it necessary to change your flight plans, please note that the Conference will not be able to reimburse you for such charges.

The University of California at San Diego is located in La Jolla, California, which is serviced by the Lindberg Airport. Upon arrival, we suggest you make the 13 mile trip to the Inn (see below) by taxi.

ACCOMMODATIONS

Rooms have been reserved at the TORREY PINES INN, 11480 North Torrey Pines Road, La Jolla, California 92037 (714) 453-4420. When traveling by car southbound on the freeway, exit at Genesee Street and make a right-hand turn onto Torrey Pines Road. Travel about one or two blocks and the Inn will appear on your left.

Instructions for travel to and from the campus (about a one-mile trip one-way) will be contained in a packet that will be waiting for you when you check-in.

In most cases, two participants will share a room. Participants will pay for their rooms and then be reimbursed after the conference (keep your hotel receipt). Please note however, we are currently working on a plan to have your rooms prepaid, and if such is the case, you will be so informed upon arrival at the Inn.

MEALS

A local catering service will provide both a continental breakfast and a buffet lunch on the days of the conference, i.e., Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday. A banquet-style dinner will be served on Sunday evening; otherwise, participants will be free to explore the city on Monday and Tuesday evenings. You will be reimbursed for your Monday and Tuesday meals, while there will not be a charge for any of the meals mentioned above.

If you require special dietary considerations, please call Dr. Cross as soon as possible (607) 256-4625.

LOCATION OF THE CONFERENCE

Conference IV will be held on the Third Campus of the University of California in San Diego, in the Revelle Formal Lounge of the Revelle Commons Plaza Building (point #75 on your reference map). The "map" will be included in the packet which will be given to you upon arrival at the Torrey Pines Inn.

PAPERS & DISCUSSANTS

The NIMH grant for Conference IV incorporates funds for publishing a conference report that will contain copies of the papers presented at the conference. This report, which will be edited by Algea Harrison, Ph.D., and William E. Cross, Jr., Ph.D., should become available during the summer 1979.

William S. Hall, Ph.D., will assist Harrison and Cross in the search for a publisher; it is hoped that a publication can be produced which incorporates the papers from Conferences III and IV.

NON-INVITED PARTICIPANTS

The conference is closed to outside non-invited participants. Local observers are welcome to join the sessions and the social functions.

FUNDING FOR CONFERENCE IV

Funding for Conference IV has been provided by a NIMH (DHEW) conference grant awarded to the African Studies and Research Center of Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Additional funding has been received from the Third College of the University of California at San Diego. We are particularly thankful for the role Provost Joseph Watson, of the Third College, has played in bringing the conference to La Jolla.

CONFERENCE IV PROGRAM

The conference will consist of sessions during which participants will present and/or critique papers. The discussant for a paper appears in parenthesis following the title of each respective paper.

The role of the discussant is to provide a formal sounding board and stimulus for detailed discussion by the entire group. The discussants should limit their remarks to about 10-15 minutes.

A participant should plan on a 25 to 35 minute presentation. To facilitate discussion, each participant is encouraged to bring 15-20 copies of a summary or expanded abstract that also includes key statistical tables, graphs, charts, etc.

PROGRAM

SATURDAY, January 6th

Evening:	Arrival at Torrey Pines Inn

SUNDAY, January 7th

8:30 - 9:00 a.m.	Continental Breakfast
9:00 - 9:15 a.m.	Opening Remarks: William Cross
9:30 - Noon	Presentation/Discussion Session #1
Charles Thomas,	"Psychology and the Black American Experience: (A.J. Franklin)
Hector Myers,	"Psychological Stress and Essential Hypertension: A Preliminary Investigation" (John McAdoo)
Noon - 1:00 p.m.	LUNCH
1:00 - 5:00 p.m.	Presentation/Discussion Session #2
Leahcim Semaj,	"Reconceptualizing the Development of Racial Preference in African-American Children" (W.E. Cross)
Rita Smith,	"Race and Class Differences in the Predisposition Toward Helplessness" (W. Simmons)
Vonnie McLoyd,	Verbally Expressed Modes of Transformation in the Fantasy Play of Black Preschool Children (O. Barbarin)
5:30 - 7:00 p.m.	DINNER
7:30 - 9:30 p.m.	Evening Session
Panel on	"Training the Afro-American Psychologist"
Panelists:	Nolan Penn, Michael Cole, Lonnie Anderson, and William S. Hall.
Discussants:	Harriette McAdoo and Algea Harrison

MONDAY, January 8th

8:30 - 9:00 a.m.	Continental Breakfast
9:00 - Noon	Presentation/Discussion Session #3
Enrico Jones,	"Personality Differences Among Blacks: A Cross-Cultural Study of Traits, Locus of Control and Personal Constructs: (J. Savage)
John McAdoo,	"Patterns of Parent-Child Interaction, and Child-rearing Attitudes Among Parents of Black Preschool Children" (A. Harrison)
Janice Hale,	"An Exploratory Study of Childrearing in Afro-American Families" (F. Brown)

MONDAY, January 8th (continued)

Noon - 1:00 p.m.	LUNCH
1:15 - 4:00 p.m.	Presentation/Discussion Session #4
A. J. Franklin,	"Verbal Recall in Learning Disabled Children with Memory Dysfunctions: A Pilot Study" (V. McLoyd)
Oscar Barbarin,	"Experience of Community Life: Applying an Open-System Model of Community" (D. Slaughter)
Ann K. Burlew,	"A Theoretical Approach to Developing Counseling Strategies for Black High School Students" (N. Penn)
4:30 - 6:30 p.m.	Reception held by the Students and Faculty of the Third College for the Conference IV Participants
6:30 -	FREE TIME

TUESDAY, January 9th

8:30 - 9:00 a.m.	Continental Breakfast
9:00 - Noon	Presentation/Discussion Session #5
Frieda Brown,	"Children's Perceptions of Authority Figures in Botswana and their Antecedent Childrearing Practices and Attitudes" (E. Jones)
Warren Simmons,	"The Role of Cultural Salience in the Cognitive Performance of Blacks & Whites" (H. Myers)
Algea Harrison,	"Interrole Conflict, Coping Strategies, and Satisfaction Among Black Working Wives" (L. Semaj)
Noon - 12:00 p.m.	LUNCH
1:00 - 5:00 p.m.	Presentation/Discussion Session #6
James Savage,	"Community-Social Variables Related to Black Parent-Absent Families" (R. Smith)
Harriette McAdoo,	"The Role of the Black Extended Family in Supporting Mobility & Socialization of Children in Middle-Class Families" (L. Anderson)
Diana Slaughter,	"The Personal Development of Women who are Mothers and Parenting Effects" (A. Burlew)
5:00 - 5:30 p.m.	Plan Meeting for Conference V.
5:30 p.m.	End of Conference IV

HARAMBEE AND LOVE